GOA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(SOCIO — ECONOMIC HISTORY)

by

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

It is surely unpleasant to realize that every significant achievement of a person is necessarily an outcome, though in varying degrees, of the exploitation of a host of other persons. This unpleasant feeling is mine just now. It consoles me, however, to realize that it is in the process of such an achievement that one is led also to taste much that is noble in man. The generosity that I had opportunity to experience during the last few years in connection with my research work has helped me to overcome a kind of crisis of confidence in mankind. Today I am inclined to believe [illegible] world is worth living in. I will cherish more this nobler result of the generosity of all who in some measure have tried to make my research work less burdensome and more efficacious.

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P R E F A C E

Literature relating to the historical past of Goa, particularly in Portuguese language, is abundant. However, only a superficial survey of such literature may lead one to the conclusion that spending any more time, energy and stationery on the same subject is almost a criminal wastage in the context of the economic strain of our country. A more judicious scrutiny of the relevant bibliography reveals the contrary to be true: The bulk of this bibliography consists of songs of praise to, or lamentations about the Portuguese colonial masters of Goa. There are publications that can stuff a reader to the point of saturation with details regarding the aims, the estabilishment, the development and the decline of the Portuguese empire in the East. In all such accounts, whatever be the aspect that takes prominence, the attention is always focused upon the colonial masters, either to praise them or to deprecate and condemn them.

A noticeable feature of this kind of bibliography is a total or quasi-total silent role ascribed to the native populations in the epic adventures of the Portuguese. Very few writers, as the survey of our sources will confirm, have tried to do justice to the people of this land. By and large

one interested in the past of the Goan people is still left to imagine their actions and reactions while going through the available details about the various types of State revenues, or about skilled and menial labour employed by the Government and private agencies, or about the crowds of Goan villagers who accepted Christianity through mass baptisms, or about many others who preferred to remain stubbornly faithful to their ancestral heritage.

In the context of the re-introduction of popular democratic institutions in Goa after nearly four and half centuries of colonial rule, the need of transposing the roles of the actors in the Indo-Portuguese historiography stands perfectly justified. Besides, there are two other considerations which back the present attempt: Firstly, the need of regarding economic factors as the prime movers in the process of historical change is gaining increasing acceptance among the Indian historians and the socio-economic trend is gaining ground in Indian historiography with the blessings of the Indian Council of Historical Research. Secondly, the archival records in Portuguese language available close at home in the Historical Archives of Goa is a mine of information which has been little appreciated by Indian historians for want of adequate linguistic equipment.

The choice of the 17th century as the period of study was determined by two facts: Firstly, that was the earliest period for which the Goa Archives presents the bulk of its documenta-

tion. Secondly, it is only by studying the situation in the 17th century that one can assess fairly the net result of the socio-economic changes initiated in the previous century when the native population of Goa was for the first time brought into contact with a western-styled Christianity and colonial capitalism. It was therefore decided to study the socio-economic past of Goa in the 17th century. This was to be done, however, in the light of the trends set in motion by the arrival of the Portuguese and by the political, commercial and religious policies pursued by them during the course of the previous century.

The choice of the 17th century also helped in restricting the geographical extent of this study. The Portuguese jurisdiction of Goa during the first two and half centuries of their arrival in India did not include more than the three provinces or talukas of Bardez, Tisvadi and Salcete (which then included the present day Mormuganv taluka as well), all together known as "Old Conquests". The remaining seven talukas which also form part of the Union Territory of Goa today did not come under the Portuguese sway until the latter part of the 18th century, and they were for that reason designated as "New Conquests".

The methodological approach of the present study is indicated by its sub-title as "socio-economic history", which goes to show that the concentration is on the social and economic aspects of the historical past of Goa. A survey of

the political history has been included for providing the indispensable context in which the socio-economic changes were taking place. This approach presupposes our conviction that any significant socio-economic changes at the headquarters of the Portuguese eastern empire had to be intimately connected with and needs to be assessed in a wider context of their overall imperial fortunes. This survey contained in Chapter Two of the Introductory Part also throws light upon the repercussions which the changes in the political sphere had upon the trade fortunes of the Portuguese. The study of the trade decline includes the consideration of coastal and hinterland trade upon which the Goan population depended not just for luxury goods but even for their essential food commodities for a major part of the year. This feature makes this survey a more integrated element in the structure of the present monograph.

Part Two deals with the Rural Economy and Corporate Life and Part Three covers the salient features of the Urban Economy and Municipal Organization. These two parts, consisting of three chapters each, form the main body of this study. The presentation of data is conspicuously descriptive. It had to be that way, because the research in the field has still to outgrow the stage of establishing and clarifying most of the basic facts and concepts. Data of statistical nature continue to be scarce, and consequently the success of our attempt at quantification has been minimal. Much effort was required

to gather whatever figures have been presented here. However, the predominatly descriptive approach has not proved to be a total bar to critical analysis. The search for data was guided all throughout by a determination to seek answers to a number of problems: What were the peculiarities of the Goan village communities? What was the prevailing pattern of the agrarian and social relations? How did the growth of money economy influence the agrarian economy and the village crafts and industries? What was the impact of Christianization upon the Goan society and its economy? What was the degree of town development and what was the extent of its interaction with the surrounding villages under its political jurisdiction? What were the class interests in the urban and rural economies? Were there definite ideological principles guiding the colonial policies of the Portuguese administration at Goa?

All the problems that have been posed may not have been met with clearly formulated answers, but it has surely been possible to arrive at some fresh, though tentative, conclusions suggested by the critical reading of the available relevant documentation. Chapterwise, Parts Two and Three proceed with the study in the following manner: Chapter Three is a summing of the written history of the Goan village communities and it serves as an introduction to the two following chapters. This chapter describes the geographical distribution, the historical origin and the customary legislation of the Goan village communities. It has also been tried to point out certain misinterpretations and

ommissions in the written history. Chapter Four goes into the details of the working of the agrarian economy: It covers the village functionaries and their functions, the modes of land tenure, the assessment and collection of revenue, the distribution of profit and loss, and some other akin topics. Chapter Five deals with the social aspect of the corporate life of the village communities, and delves into the administration of justice, the practice of religion, the promotion of education, and the organization of social welfare. The economic implications of these issues have been highlighted. With Chapter Six begins the study of the urban economy: It describes the topographic features of the town and introduces its different population groups and their respective roles in the town life. The role played by the slave-labour has been duly emphasized. The grip of the Hindu minority group upon the Goa-based Portuguese economy, in spite of the anti-Hindu official stance, has been analysed. Chapter Seven narrates the history of the establishment of the municipal government, describes its organization and administrative policies, and analyses the nature of its clashes with the State authorities and some other challanging interests in the context of the prevailing mercantilist behaviour. Chapter Eight marks the end of the monograph with the analysis of some salient features of the urban economic life, such as the labour and market organization, and a rough estimate of the cost of living.

There is a Companion Volume bound separately in order to

enable the reader to refer to the Appendices contained in it more easily and less tediously while perusing the Text Volume. The Companion Volume carries four Appendices: Appendix I consists of translations of nine unpublished Portuguese documents and of two documents in Marathi (in Kandevi script) bearing on the rural economy of Goa in the seventeenth century. Appendix II includes translations of fourteen select unpublished documents in Portuguese and one in Italina relating to the urban economy of Goa during the same period. The documents that have been selected have been drawn from the State Archives of Goa and Lisbon, as well as from a private collection in Goa and from the missionary archives of the Society of Jesus and of the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome. Photocopies have been included to prove the genuineness of the documents obtained from private sources. Appendix III consists of a note on currency, weights and measures that were current in Goa during the seventeenth century. Finally, Appendix IV is a glossary of unfamiliar terms, chiefly of vernacular derivation, that occur in the text and in the other appendices. Wherever possible a given meaning is justified with reference to the source from where it is derived.

Perhaps it is a common experience of all young Ph.D. seeking scholars to find that their search for evidence ends up with many more loose ends than those they succeed in tying up. This monograph has been no exception to the rule.

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The three maps of the provinces have been combined to form the map placed on the cover-jacket. Only the spellings of the place-names have been altered to suit their corresponding spellings in the text.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACE	= Assentos do Conselho do Estado, ed. Pissurlencar.
ACF	= Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda, MSS in HAG.
AHSJ	= Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, Rome.
AHU	= Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon.
AJIC	= Anais da Junta das Investigacoes Coloniais, Lisbon.
APF	= Archives of the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide", Rome.
APO-BP	= Arquivo Portugues Oriental, ed. Braganca Pereira.
APO-CR	= Archivo Portuguez Oriental, ed. Cunha Rivara.
AR	= Archivo da Relacao de Goa, ed. Abranches Garcia.
ARSJ	= Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome.
BG	= Boletim do Governo, Nova Goa.
BHC	= Bosquejo Historico das Communidades, by F.N. Xavier, Nova Goa, 1852.
BHC-JMS	= Bosquejo Historico das Communidades, 2nd ed., J.M. de Sa, Bastora-Goa, 1903-7.
BIVG	= Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama, Nova Goa.
BNL	= National Library, Lisbon.
BNM	= National Library, Madrid.
CEHU	= Centre of Overseas Historical Studies, Lisbon.
CEO	= Conquista Espiritual do Oriente, by Fr. Paulo de Trindade.
CT	= Colleccao de Tratados, ed. Biker.
DGHM	= Descripcao Geral e Historica das Moedas, by A.C. Teixeira de Aragao.
DI	= Documenta Indica, ed. Wicki.

DMP = Documentacao para as Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente: India, ed. Silva Rego.

DRI = Documentos Remettidos da India, ed. Bulhao Pato.

DSE = The Dutch Seaborne Empire, by Boxer.

DUP = Documentacao Ultramarina Portuguesa, ed. Silva Rego.

EFI = English Factories in India, ed. Foster.

GLA = Glossario Luso-Asiatico, by Dalgado.

HAG = Historical Arohives of Goa, Panaji.

HD = History of Dharmashastra, ed. Kane.

HJ = Hobson-Jobson, by Yule and Burnell.

HMD = History of Medieval Deccan, ed. Sherwani and Joshi.

JBHS = Journal of the Bomaby Historical Society, Bombay.

JBMS = Journal of the Bombay Mythic Society, Bombay.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

JRASB = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, Bombay.

JUB = Journal of the University of Bombay, Bombay.

MD = Molesworth's Marathi-English Dictionary, ed. Kalelkar.

NCMH = New Cambridge Modern History, Cambridge.

NZMW = Neue Zeitshcrift fur Missionswissenschaft, Schweiz.

OC = Oriente Conquistado, by Francisco de Sousa.

OP = O Oriente Portugues, Nova Goa.

PI = The Portuguese in India, by Danvers.

PO = Os Portuguezes no Oriente, by Balsemao.

PSE = The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, by Boxer.

PST = Portuguese Society in the Tropics, by Boxer.

SG = Sebastiao Goncalves, Primeira Parte da Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus, ed. Wicki.

TdT = National Archives, Lisbon.

WG = Wilson's Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms.

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CHAPTER ONE

SURVEY OF SOURCES

This survey of sources is not meant to exhaust all the source-material that has gone into the writing of this monograph. It is restricted to introducing only the primary sources, both published and archival. All the important and relevant secondary sources have been listed in the Bibliography.

The published primary sources have been discussed under four headings, namely: 1. Official Chronicles; 2. Missionary Reports; 3. Travelogues; and 4. State Papers. Also the treatment of the archival sources is broken into: 1. The Archival Sources in Goa; and 2. The Archival Sources in Europe. Each of these two divisions is further subdivided into: 1. Papers from State Archives; and 2. Papers from Private Collections.

Whatever primary sources are discussed in this Chapter have been consulted personally and their information has been utilized for writing this monograph.

A. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Official Chronicles

Castanheda's Historia do Descobrimento[1], Correa's Lendas[2], and Barros' Decadas[3] are excellent chronicles written during the sixteenth century celebrating the maritime achievements of the Portuguese in the East. The authors of all these works were self-appointed chroniclers, though patronized by the State. However, it was at the end of the sixteenth century, when the

Portuguese had practically stopped making history that they took seriously to writing it. Accordingly, a royal order of February 25, 1595, instructed the viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque to create a Department of Archives and to appoint Diogo de Couto its first Keeper and State Chronicler.[4] Diogo de Couto (1542-1616) had been brought up in the royal court, but he was not of noble birth and had to face tough opposition in a world where promotions depended on this factor. Couto came to India as an ordinary soldier in 1559 and served for several years in the coastal fleets until he got married and settled down in Goa with a cozier job as Keeper of Government Stores. This job and the style of the historical accounts he had begun publishing on his own won for him a host of enemies. If it was not for the personal interest taken in him by the viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama (1597-1600), Couto would have never obtained sanction of his appointment as the Keeper of Archives and State Chronicler.[5]

By his own initiative Couto had begun writing the history of the Portuguese in India following the style of the past chroniclers. He had started with Decada X, that is, with the accession of Phillip II of Spain to the throne of Portugal. It was a piece of trickery played by Couto to flatter the Crown. When he sent the manuscript of this Decada to the king, he also included a request to be officially given the commission of resuming the writing of Decadas from where Barros had stopped his work. This request was granted, but after much delay caused

by the opposition and intrigues of his enemies. His Decadas rank from the fourth to the twelfth and cover the period 1526-1600. The fact that he wrote also about contemporary events and personalities and told truths bluntly was responsible for the loss and muitlation of several manuscripts of his Decadas.[6]

Couto has also left a pungent commentary upon his own formal history. It is known as Dialogo do Soldado Pratico and exposes the rampant corruption at all levels of administration. Undoubtedly one has to make allowance to Couto's exaggerations and biting remarks against the system of administration which was responsible for his sufferings, but even so this work of Couto stands out as a sincere and frank denunciation of injustice incarnated in the Portuguese Indian administration. Couto attributes the decline of the Portuguese power to corruption in administration and pleasure-seeking in personal lives. In his own peculiar style Couto says that "India turned turtle when the administrators stopped carrying arms and embarking in fleets and chose instead the delights of the Goa town and the posts of public revenue comptrollers and chancellors of the High Court."[7] He then recommends the return to the old fighting simplicity as the only way of staying a total collapse. It is to be noted however that after drawing a bleak picture of the Portuguese Indian empire, Couto ends by repeating (as the previous chroniclers did) that the presence of the Portuguese in the East was by divine dispensation, and that, if the Portuguese would only renew their faith in their mission, God was still powerful to thwart the designs of the Gentiles and the Moors.[8]

Antonio Bocarro was a crypto-Jew from Portugal. He succeeded Couto as State Chronicler and as Keeper of Goa Archives due to the far-sighted and tolerant policy of the viceroy Count of Linhares (1629-35) in 1631. Bocarro had come to India in 1615. When he was not taking part in the fleets, he was mostly at Cochin, where he had married and settled down in 1624. At Cochin he had been drawn back into Judaism, which he finally decided to abjure voluntarily, and on the advice of his Jesuit confessor went to Goa to make his confession before the Inquisition. This happened in February 1624. During his stay at Goa he was recommended to the viceroy Count of Linhares, who had no hesitation about according favours to the Cristaos Novos (or converts from Judaism) hated by the public. He was officially appointed chronicler and successor to Couto on May 9, 1631, and he held this post until his death in 1642 or 1643.[9]

Among other works of less importance, Bocarro wrote Decada XIII covering the years 1612-17, that is, the five years of the viceroyalty of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo.[10] In reality Bocarro's Decada supplies information also for the period 1609-12 of the rule of Rui Lourenco da Tavora. This work of Bocarro was not published until 1876. The narrative is largely concentrated on Portuguese naval engagements in the Gulf of Cambay and there is very little for Goa. The only noteworthy information is about the introduction of compulsory military training for the natives in the villages of Salcete. All men above the age of eighteen and below the age of sixty were organized into companies and imparted military training in their respective villages. Twice a

a year general parades were held at Rachol, where the Captain of Salcete taluka had his fortified residence.[11] These developments give us some idea of the impact of the colonial wars of the Portuguese upon the lives of the Goan people.

Bocarro's more valuable contribution is his encyclopaedic Book containing designs of all the forts, towns, and settlements in the Oriental State of India along with descriptions of their sites and of all they contain, such as artillery, garrisons, population, income and expenditure, depths of the sea approaches, neighbouring princes in the hinterland, their strength and our relations with them, and whatever else that is subject to the Crown of Spain. The author has done full justice to the lengthy title of his work, and much of the statistical information it supplies regarding trade, wages and prices is not obtainable from any other source. The Book was improved upon by his collaborator Pero Barreto Rezende, the Secretary of the Genral Registration Office (matricola geral), who added maps to Bocarro's descriptions of the various Portuguese eastern settlements. At least four manuscripts of this work have been so far traced in four different Archives of Europe, namely in the Public Library of Evora (Portugal), British Museum, National Library of Madrid, and National Library of Paris.[12] Only the Evora MS. has been edited by A.B.de Braganca Pereira in his Arquivo Portugues Oriental, but a more critical edition remains a prime desideratum.[13]

Following the death of Bocarro the Archives at Goa did not find a worthy successor to continue his work. A certain Francisco Moniz de Carvalho occupied the post for nearly three decades,

but he was apparently kept in office "for being old (over sixty) and paralytic".[14] Hence, the Department of Archives had become a haven for parasites. As reported from Goa to Lisbon in 1655, the said Archivist continued in office until he was seventy years old and had produced no significant piece of writing.[15] In a letter dated January 15, 1667, the viceroy requested the Crown to let him find a Jesuit or some other talent Religious to resume the writing of official history with a nominal stipend of 100 cruzados. The same letter also described the pitiable condition of the Archives Office.[16] A certain Antonio Gil Preto was then appointed as Chronicler, but no work of his pen has come to our notice.[17] The job of the Keeper of the Archives was separated from that of State Chronicler, and c. 1669 a certain Antonio de Mattos Soeiro was appointed to serve in this post during his life-time.[18]

2. Missionary Reports

It is necessary to distinguish here between the reports proper and the contemporary missionary histories. To the former category belong the Documenta Indica edited by J. Wicki, S.J. and the Documentacao para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente: India edited by A.da Silva Rego. The Documenta Indica is more carefully edited of the two, and it contains the Jesuit missionary reports preserved in the Jesuit Roman Archives. It also includes corroborative and illustrative reports obtained from other repositories, chiefly from the Historical Archives of Goa. Although these reports, like those in the Documentacao,

belong exclusively to the sixteenth century, they have been most useful to reconstruct the indispensable background to the present study. The documentation for the history of the Portuguese Crown Patronage in India is drawn substantially from the Archives of Lisbon and Goa, but it also includes several documents already published elsewhere. Officially, the period covered by this publication does not go beyond the sixteenth century, but it does include documents which refer to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[19]

As regards the second category of the missionary accounts, there are three important missionary histories composed in Goa during the seventeenth century. The first of these is Sebastiao Goncalves' Primeira Parte da Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus (Part One of the History of the Society of Jesus), written during the years 1604-19. The second one in chronological order of composition is Fr. Paulo de Trindade's Conquista Espiritual do Oriente (Spiritual Conquest of the East) written during 1630-36. And lastly Francisco de Souza's Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus (The Conquest of the East for Jesus Christ by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus) written during the last decade of the seventeenth century.[20]

All the three missionary authors had spent most of their lives in India, particularly at Goa, and they were in close contact with the ordinary run of the people to whom they sought to preach the message of the Gospels. Sebastiao Goncalves and Francisco de Souza were Portuguese Jesuits and they wrote about the missionary achievements of the Society of Jesus in the East

during the sixteenth century. The work of Sebastiao Goncalves remained unpublished until recent times because of too many and lengthy digressions of non-religious nature inserted by him.[21] However, it is precisely because of these digressions that the work of Goncalves was useful for our purpose. He informs us, for instance, that the yearly land revenue of the Salcete and Bardez talukas was 60,000 and 15 to 20,000 pardaus respectively[22], that the rate of interest on loans in the villages of Goa was calculated on monthly basis at fifty per cent[23], that Margao was the chief village of Salcete and frequented by caravans of Hindu and Muslim traders, who flocked thither with cloths and foodstuffs[24], and many other details regarding local beliefs and customs.

Francisco de Souza does not carry his ecclesiastical history beyond 1585, but one comes across in his work several references to events which took place even in the closing decades of the seventeenth century, and it includes also large tracts dealing with secular history. He records, for instance, Barros' account about the origin of the Goan village communities, and then goes further explaining the actual mode of functioning of those institutions.[25] He also refers to large scale mortality in Salcete following the invasion of Goa by the Maratha ruler Sambhaji in 1683, and he places the population of that province at the end of the seventeenth century somewhere around 70,000.[26]

While the Jesuits had concentrated their missionary efforts in Salcete, the province of Bardez was a preserve of the Franciscan friars. The narrative of the Franciscan successes constitutes the subject matter of Fr. Paulo de Trindade's Spiritual Conquest

the East. Only the first volume is relevant for our study of Goa, while the other two volumes cover the story of the Franciscan missions elsewhere in the East. The author provides many side-lights which have proved useful for the study of the socio-economic history of Goa. There are, for instance, village-wise population figures for the convert population of Bardez based on the Baptism registers.[27] We are also informed that Bardez taluka was made up originally of forty-eight villages and that some of these were gradually incorporated into others and the total number was reduced to forty villages, all of which paid to the State treasury an annual land rent of 31,842 tangas brancas, each such tanga being equivalent to half xerafim or 150 reis.[28]

3. Travelogues

The recorded impressions of the European travellers who visited the city of Goa between the closing decades of the sixteenth and the closing decades of the seventeenth centuries also constitute valuable evidence for reconstructing the past of Goa during that period. These travelogues complement the missionary accounts by adding descriptions of urban life to the missionary portrayals of the rural life. Unlike the tourists of our days, the Europeans who visited Goa in the seventeenth century were not attracted by the idyllic beauty of the Goan villages, and by and large they restricted their movements and observation to the city walls. This limitation might have been caused by the Government policy of checking the free movement of the foreigners, particu-

larly Europeans other than Portuguese, as well as by the difficulties of communication, both linguistic and of transport. However what they describe at length, namely the life in the city of Goa, they do it most vividly, enabling us to incorporate this life-element into the dry evidence of the archival records. The eye-witness accounts of the European travellers help us also to verify whether many of the legislative enactments recorded in the State Papers were relevant and effective. Hence, a study based exclusively on State Papers, without taking into account such contemporary eye-witness reports, runs the risk of presenting a picture very much divorced from the reality.

Fortunately there are accounts left by European travellers who visited Goa during the entire span of the seventeenth century at more or less regular intervals. One of the most detailed and picturesque account of the city of Goa is left by the Frenchman Pyrard de Laval, who was in Goa during the opening decade of the seventeenth century. His description can only be matched with another slightly earlier account of the Dutchman, John Huyghen van Linschoten.[29] Both of them saw the city when it was at its zenith of splendour and lived there longer than any other traveller. The Italian nobleman, Pietro della Valle, who came to Goa in 1623 could already notice the signs of decline.[30] The picture of growing misery and unrest in the city and of the aristocracy straining to cover it with a show of extravagance is what strikes us in the accounts of the French jeweller, Tavernier[31], the Dutch nobleman, Mandelslo[32], the Italian doctor, Manucci[33], the French clergyman, Abbe Carre[34], the English doctor, Fryer[35], the Calvinist Scot free-trader, Hamilton[36], and the Italian doctor,

Gareri[37]. These travellers belonged to different walks of life and their varying interests led them to observe the life in the city of Goa from different angles. Some of them, like Tavernier, Manucci and Hamilton visited Goa more than once. These facts add weight to the evidence of their recorded impressions.

4. State Papers

Under this category we have fourteen collections of published documentation. Some of these publications are already become rare and are not easily available for consultation.

- Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India (The Agents of Portuguese Diplomacy in India), ed. P.S.S. Pissurlencar, Bastora, 1952. The work includes 477 documents drawn chiefly from the Historical Archives of Goa to illustrate the collaboration of the non-Christian natives of Goa with the Portuguese Indian administration. The documents also serve for the study of the relations of the Portugese with their neighbouring rulers during seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

- Archivo Portuguez-Oriental (Portuguese Oriental Archive), ed. J.H. da Cunha Rivara, 10 volumes, Nova Goa, 1857-76. The collection is divided into six fascicles. Most of the documents belong to the sixteenth century. The documents have not been compiled under any strict classification. On the whole, fascicles I and II refer to the municipal administration of the Goa city; fascicles III, V, and VI cover general administrative affairs in India; and fascicle IV deals exclusively with the proclamations of the ecclesiastical councils held at Goa between 1567-1606. The series is very carefully edited and is an invaluable publication.

This series has salvaged many of the sixteenth century records of the Historical Archives of Goa which are not easily legible today. Unfortunately, nowhere in India is this series easily available in good shape and in complete form.

- Arquivo Portugues Oriental (Portuguese Oriental Archive), ed. A.B.de Braganca Pereira, 10 volumes, Bastora (Goa), 1936-40. This series is not to be confused with its namesake above. The documentation published in this series is totally different and it concentrates on the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. For the seventeenth century it contains the Book of Bocarro to which we have referred earlier. The classification of this series in Tomes and Volumes is utterly disorderly and the job of editing is done very shabbily.

- Archivo da Relacao de Goa (Archive of the Goa High Court), ed. J.I. de Abranches Garcia, 2 volumes, Nova Goa, 1872-74. The author had in mind four volumes covering seventeenth- nineteenth centuries (until 1836). However, the two parts he published did not go beyond the seventeenth century. The compilation does not follow any criterion of classification, neither is there any sort of index to help consultation. The documentation contained in it is however most useful for a socio-economic study. The originals of the published documentation are preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa.

- Assentos do Conselho do Estado (Proceedings of the State Council), ed. P.B.S.Pissurlencar, 5 volumes, Bastora, 1953-57. The State Council was established in the beginning of the seventeenth century to assist the Government. It was an advisor body to the viceroy or governor of Goa. The MSS of the proceedings of

this Council are preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa. The present series includes these proceedings for the period 1618-1750. The documents are edited fairly meticulously and the footnotes are very illustrative. These documents are valuable for studying all aspects of the Portuguese administration of India.

A Supplementary Volume with two parts has been issued recently by the present Director of the Goa Archives, Dr. V.T.Gune. Part I of this Volume contains subject index and a table of contents to the five volumes edited by Pissurlencar, and Part II includes proceedings for the years 1624-27 not included in Volume I of Pissurlencar.

- Collecao de tratados e concertos de pazes (Collection of treaties and concerts of peace), ed. J.F.J. Biker, 14 volumes, Lisboa, 1881-87. It is an indispensable series for the study of the Portuguese relations with the native rulers of Asia and East Africa. The collection includes many other relevant documents beside treaties and concerts. Though the title says that the period covered goes only up to eighteenth century, there are included several documents that belong to the nineteenth century as well. The documents have been carefully reproduced.

- Descripcao Geral e Historica das Moedas (A General and Historical Description of Coins), ed. A.C.Teixeira de Aragao, Vol. III, Lisboa, 1880. It is the Documentary Appendix to this work that is important. In it the author has compiled practically all the available legislation referring to coinage in Portuguese India during sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The documents for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been drawn chiefly from the MSS. of the Historical Archives of Goa. The documents for the earlier period

have been reproduced second-hand from the Archivo Portuguez-Oriental of Cunha Rivara.

- Documentacao Ultramarina Portuguesa (Documentation on the Portuguese Overseas Dominions), ed. Centre of the Overseas Historical Studies, 5 volumes, Lisboa, 1960-67. The documents refer to a variety of topics bearing on the Portuguese activities in the East and West Indies from sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. The documents published are chiefly from the archival repositories in Europe outside Portugal.

- Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Moncoes (Documents remitted from India or the Books of Seasonal Correspondence), ed. R.A.de Bulhao Pato, Lisboa, 1880-1935. Documentos Remettidos da India is a series of 62 MSS codices kept in the National Archives of Lisbon (Torre do Tombo) and once belonged to the Moncoes collection of the Historical Archives of Goa. They cover the years 1605-1651, but the five published volumes do not cover more than 1605-19. This publication was done for the purpose of filling in the gap of nearly twelve years between the last decade of Couto and the decade of Bocarro, as well as to seek confirmation of the story told by Bocarro in the said decade.

- Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani (Historical Essay on Konkani Language), ed. J.H.da Cunha Rivara, Nova Goa, 1858. The documentary appendix to this publication carries 90 documents drawn from the Moncoes MSS of Goa Historical Archives. They cover the period extending from seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. All the selected documents throw light upon the impact of the religious activities of the missionaries upon the customs and tradi-

tions of the Goan society. The publication is invaluable owing to this judicious selection of documents and their careful editing.

- Leis Peculiaries das Communidades Agricolas das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez (Legislation proper to the village communities of Tisvadi, Salcete and Bardez), ed. F.N.Xavier, 2 volumes, Nova Goa, 1852-55. These were issued as forming Volume V of a periodical named Gabinette Litterario das Fontainhas and published by the same author. The two volumes include almost all the important State enactments regarding the administration of the village communities of the Old Conquests of Goa during the period extending from the sixteenth to the first half of the nineteenth centuries. The documents are largely taken from the Moncoes and Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda MSS of the Historical Archives of Goa. The editing is on the whole accurate, but the author does not always bother to give references to the originals.

- O Livro do Pai dos Cristaos (The Book of the Father of Christians), ed. J.Wicki, Lisboa, 1969. "Father of the Christians" was a State appointed official, generally a religious priest, to look after the welfare of the catechumens and new converts to Christianity in Portuguese India during sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Since it was an official post many legislative enactments relating to his work are found in the State papers of the Historical Archives of Goa. These, plus two MSS of a manual of duties of the Father of the Christians available in the same Archives (MSS. 7693, 9529) have been published together by J.Wicki in the present publication. The work is extremely valuable for studying the impact of conversions to Christianity upon the Goan society.

- Os Portugueses no Oriente (The Portuguese in the East), ed. E.A. de Sa Nogueira Pinto de Balsemao, 3 volumes, Nova Goa, 1881-82. The three volumes of this work cover the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first volume is devoted almost exclusively to celebrating Portuguese military deeds and the documents of this volume are drawn from the chronicles of Correia, Barros and Couto. The second and third volumes include fairly large number of documents taken from the Moncoes collection of the Historical Archives of Goa. These documents are not limited to matters of political nature alone. They cover also Portuguese policy matters regarding the Goan society and their economic life. The documents are reproduced in full and they are integrated into a historical pattern with a chronological arrangement.

- O Senado de Goa: Memoria Historico-Archaeologica (The Municipal Council of Goa: An Historical and Archaeological Recollection), ed. A.C.B. Viriato de Albuqerque, Nova Goa, 1909. After a brief introduction to the history of the establishment and functioning of the Municipal Council at Goa, the author reproduces 249 documents covering the period 1518-1907 but without any chronological order. The documents of the earlier period have been taken from Cunha Rivara's Archivo Portuguez-Oriental. There are altogether forty-five documents for the seventeenth century scattered all over the volume, and these are drawn from MSS 7846 and 7795 of the Historical Archives of Goa.

B. ARCHIVAL SOURCE MATERIAL

Ia. State Papers from the Historical Archives of Goa.

Documentation from the Historical Archives of Goa constitutes the

staple of the present monograph. The historical Archives of Goa continue to be the least utilized mine of historical information. It was the preparation of this thesis that got at least one shcolar to spend three continuous years scanning almost every single codex for the seventeenth century. There was much that did not serve the purpose. Much time and energy of the scholars could have been economized if there had been better aids for the consultation of these archival holdings.[38]

It is possible here to comment only on few select collections of the Goa Archives which have proved most useful for the present study.

1. Proceedings of the Public Revenue Council (Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda): Seventeen volumes of this series cover the seventeenth century from 1613 onwards. There is a twin series with records of the same Council, entitled Peticoes Despachadas, (Replies to the Applications) with four codices for the seventeenth century. Each codex has an average number of 300 folios.

A brief introduction to the organization of the Portuguese fiscal administration is essential for understanding the importance of the proceedings of the meetings of the Public Revenue Council. The entire gamut of trade and fiscal administration of the Portuguese dominions in the East was controlled by a House of Accounts (Caza dos Contos) presided over by a Comptroller General of Finance (Vedor Geral da Fazenda). However, the administrative work had grown so complex in course of the sixteenth century that in 1589 a new constitution (regimento) was given to the House of Accounts. The new standing order created a Board and Court of

Accounts (Meza e Tribunal dos Contos) in order to expedite the business and check corruption. The Board was to be presided by the viceroy, and its membership included the Comptroller of Accounts (Vedor dos Contos) and two seniormost accountants of the House. This Board underwent a change in its composition in 1615 and also changed its designation to Public Revenue Council.[39] The membership of the new Council included the viceroy, the chancellor of the High Court, the comptroller general of finance, the chief superintendent of accounts (Provedor-mor dos Contos), the royal attorney (Procurador da Coroa), the custodian of the property of the dead and absent (Provedor-more dos Defuntos e Ausentes), and the secretary (Escrivao da Fazenda). The Council had its regular meetings on Wednesday evenings, and the members received no special remuneration for this service until in 1668 it was decided in the same Council that every member should be given 1 per cent from the increase in the State revenues that were farmed out and from the booty of the vessels captured for violating the Portuguese sea monopoly.[40]

The MSS in question contain original papers with signatures of the Council members. Most of the documents bear headings which sum up the nature of the subjects discussed. Only a few volumes have fragmentary tables of contents at the beginning or at the end of the codices. The sixth volume is badly damaged and rendered illegible, and the four volumes of the Peticoes Despachadas make hard reading, but the rest are in good shape and reading condition.

The Assentos deal with such matters as seaborne and coastal trade, money-minting and exchange rates, employment and regula-

tion of salaries, grants to indivdiuals and to religious monasteries, aministration of customs and other revenues, village communities of Goa, gifts sent to and received from the neighbouring princes, ship building, and several other topics. The series of Peticoes Despachadas is more interesting for the study of the local history as it furnishes many more details about the local revenues and hinterland trade of Goa. Unfortunately, it begins only with 1682 and extends up to 1693.

2. Records of the Farmed Revenues (Arrematacao das Rendas).

The Portuguese in India took up the practice of farming out the rights of collecting State revenues from the Adil Shahi administration. Right from the days of the conquest of Goa the revenue-farmers were natives, generally Hindus from the mainland. The highest bidder had to pay the amount to the Government in quarterly instalments after presenting two kinds of sureties (fiancas), namely one-third of the total value of the farmed revenue in the form of mortgages, and one-tenth of the value in cash. The Hindu tax-farmers normally got their friends and well-wishers to stand surety for them in return for temptingly high interest rates.[41] These rendas or non-agricultural revenues were collected from the imports of tobacco, cloths, foodstuffs, and several other minor items. Goa port customs and minting rights were also farmed out occasionally.[42] The contracts were triennial and the terms of such contracts are available in fragmented form for the seventeenth century. Thus, we have MSS 656 (1658-68), 2320 (1696-1756) containing terms of contracts for those years, and MSS 1369-71 (1626-53) containing statements of the sureties

presented by the tax-farmers during the period indicated.

3. Land and Revenue Registers (Tombos e Foraes)

The title of these MSS can be misleading to one who is not conversant with the land regulations that were prevailing at Goa. Each village community was the owner of all the land within the limits of the village and paid a lump sum of land revenue (foro) through joint responsibility of all the constituent members of the village community. It kept its own record of village lands and øthe lands distributed through bidding or through grants were registered accordingly. The need of Government keeping Tombos and Foraes did not arise until after there had been an encroachment upon the village ownership rights regarding the village lands that had been traditionally set aside for the upkeep of temples and worship. With the initiation of the conversion drive and the consequent demolition of Hindu temples, the said village lands were taken away from the village community control and either handed over to the missionaries to administer or administered by the State with their produce being ascribed to religious purposes. The Tombos and Foraes are the registers of these so-called namassy lands. They also include records of traditional obligations of individual villages in the form of offerings to the temples and temple servants. New registers were prepared in each of the three talukas during the seventeenth century because the earlier ones were found to have been incomplete owing to reluctance of the village elders to declare truthfully all that had been associated with the temples. Thus, we have MSS 7594-5, which

are two copies of the Foral of the Goa islands (1567), and MSS 3069, 7646, which are another two copies of another Foral of the same taluka drawn in 1646. There are two copies of the Foral of Salcete, namely MSS 3070-71, for the year 1567. A new Foral of the same taluka was prepared in 1622 (MSS 7583-85, in 3 volumes). No Foral of sixteenth century for Bardez is extant, but there are two codices, namely MSS 7587-88, prepared in 1647.

In addition to these Foraes there are MSS 7598 and 3031, which are two copies of a general register of all State revenues from the three talukas (Tombo das Rendas) drawn by the superintendent of accounts, Francisco Paes, in 1595. It is complete regarding the information about revenues of Salcete and Tisvaddi during the pre-Portuguese period, but it provides only limited and sketchy information about the situation in Bardez.[43] It may be mentioned in this connection that from among all the Foraes listed above, only the MS 7588 gives on fls. 209-209v a complete list of land revenues payable by each village of Bardez taluka. It also lists the values of the other revenues (rendas) collected from the same taluka, thereby making up in some way for the lack of information about Bardez revenues.

4. Village Community Records (Assentos, Memoriaes e Correntes das Communidades)

Proceedings and account books were issued to the village clerks by the Public Revenue Department (Fazenda) every October with numbered and endorsed pages. There were also memo books issued by the taluka authorities, namely by the thanadar in Tisvadi and by the taluka Captains in Bardez and Salcete. These

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books consisted ordinarily of sixty-two folios and had to be deposited by the village clerks and accountants with the issuing authorities at the end of a year.

As the designations of the books indicate, they constitute first hand sources of information regarding the working of the village communities of Goa. Unfortunately, such books belonging to the seventeenth century and preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa do not cover more than half a dozen of villages of Tisvadi, a couple of villages of Salcete, and one lone village of Bardez. As far as the number of these codices is concerned, there is MS 8000 for Aldona (in Bardez) covering the period 1595-1605 and written in Haleganad script and Marathi language. The two villages of Salcete for which there are extant records are Donkuly and Kortaly. There are eleven codices (MSS 10204-14) for the former, covering the years 1629-95. For the latter we have forty-one codices (MSS 10224-64) extending from 1614 to 1691. In both these series of records there are gaps in the periods indicated. As for Tisvadi, there are twent-four codices (MSS 10016-10038) for Azosy(1582-1695), twenty-nine codices (MSS 10041-46, 10056-60) for Karbelly(1612-1700), fifteen volumes (MSS 10108-22) for Korly(1607-82), one volume for Gancy(MS 10141, for 1683-85), four volumes (MSS 10148-51) for Goa Velha(1603-52), and five codices (MSS 10188-90, 10193-4) for Lesser Neura(1600-07, 1646-66). Many of these books covering the closing decades of the sixteenth century and the first two decades of the seventeenth century are written in Haleganad script and Marathi language.[44]

5. Papers of the Suppressed Convents (Papeis dos Conventos Extintos)

These MSS constitute one of the largest collections of the Historical Archives of Goa. They were salvaged from the monasteries of Old Goa when these were suppressed in 1835.[45] Its lack of classification makes it very hard to consult this collection. After much donkey work it was possible to trace some codices of this collection containing deeds of the bequests left to different religious monasteries in the form of lands and cash during sixteen and seventeenth centuries.[46] Thus, MSS 830, 2819, 3029, 4512, 7594 can serve to give us an idea of the quick accumulation of wealth by the Religious Orders in Goa. The same collection also includes invaluable codices with household accounts of certain monasteries. Thus, MSS 1202, 2088, 2740, 2765, 2785, 4397, 4395-96, 7876, 7878, 7880 provide us with rare information about the prices of different market commodities and about wages paid to different categories of labour in the course of the seventeenth century. It is possible to base the estimates of living cost on these records. The life-style of the monks cannot be compared with that of the ordinary run of the Goan people then, but the practice of poverty by the monks did not allow them to be too extravagant either.

These records of the monasteries also contain abundant references on some other topics which were intimately connected with the economic life of the place. Thus, there is information about the interest collected by the monks on loans provided by them, about the exchange of commodities between missionary settlements, and about their possession of bonded labour.

6. Records of the Goa Municipal Council (Senado da Camara)

This is another very extensive series of MSS in the Historical Archives of Goa. Itis classified into nearly two dozens of sub-series, but only half the number of these sub-series contain codices belonging to the seventeenth century. Thus, we have the Proceedings and Resolutions of the Municipal Council (Acordaos e Assentos do Senado de Goa) in nine volumes (MSS 7738-40, 7747-48, 7765-66, 7786-87) for the years 1597-1709. For the Municipal Market Regulations (Almotacaria) there is only MS 7795, which is a nineteenth century copy of the market regulations enacted in 1618. It is the only precious survival of its kind for the seventeenth century. There are five distinct series of records that contain the correspondence between the Municipal Council and the Government, both local and home Government, and a whole lot of decrees, instructions and provisions issued by the Government to the Municipality (Cartas, alvaras, provisoes, correspondencia diversa: MSS 7743-46, 7725, 7846-47, 7862, 7865). Another four distinct sub-series contain documentation regarding the terms to be observed by city merchants, artisans, tax-farmers, contractors of the Public Works, and sureties to be kept by all of them (Assentos e Juramentos, Termos das Obras, Arrematacao das Rendas, Fiancas: MSS 7758, 7760-61, 7837, 7832, 7838, 7852, 7856, 7836). Two sub-series, entitled Letters Patent (Cartas Patentes:MSS 7750-57) and Miscellaneous Records (Registos Gerais: MSS 7696-7704) consist of codices with texts of licenses and work-permits issued to merchants and artisans of the city. Finally, there is MS. 7809 with de-

tails about the convoy-tax (Collecta) introduced in 1623 for gathering funds to finance the building and maintaining of a fleet that would convoy the vessels that brought foodgrains to Goa from the ports of Kanara.

Most of the codices of this collection are well preserved, but the handwriting in many of them is not easily decipherable, and this fact reduces to a large extent the satisfaction which this collection provides a scholar with its valuable contents. Just like the other five series described above, also the records of the Goa Municipal Council have been left substantially untapped until now.

Ib. Private Records in Goa

The difficulties of detecting and consulting records in private possession are too well known to the scholars. Our persistent efforts to trace documentation in the private collections in order to make up for the lack of information for the village communities of Bardez in the Historical Archives of Goa were rewarded with a happy discovery of nine codices. They are of the same type described above, and they belonged to the collection of the late Mr. J.Avelino Soares from Uskai (Bardez). His sister-in-law has donated the collection to Mr. Mariano Dias, the Agent of the Mapusa Branch of Bank of India. Among these codices there is one for Bastora (1679), one for Kanaka (1649), two for Paliem (1589-92, 1654), one for Punala (1650), one for Siuly (1671-72), and three for Sirula (1660-61, 1672, 1673-74). Of the two codices for Paliem, the earlier one is in Haleganad script. All the other codices are written in Portuguse language.

II a. Records in the State Archives Abroad

Most of the time at our disposal was spent in Portugal, particularly in the Overseas Historical Archives (Arquivo Historico Ultramarino) of Lisbon. It was also possible to pay short visit to the National Library of Madrid. However, our plans to spend a couple of months at the British Mueseum were frustrated by the British immigration authorities. These months were then quite profitably spent in consulting the private archives of the Jesuit Curia and of the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome.

To begin with we have the Overseas Historical Archives which is rich in documentation for the seventeenth century and thereafter. The importance of this documentation can be gauged from the position occupied by the Overseas Council (Conselho Ultramarino) in the structure of the Portuguese administration of its overseas dominions, including India.[47] The Overseas Council was created in 1643, following the restoration of the independence of the Portuguese Crown in 1640. This new Council was only a ressurected form of an earlier India Council (Conselho da India) estabilished by Phillip II of Spain in 1604 for looking after the administration of the Portuguese dominions in India.[48] It was an advisroy body to the King in matters relating to appointments and other administrative matters. The India Council was suppressed in 1614 owing to clash of powers with some other administrative bodies, such as the Crown Board of Justice (Desembargo do Paco) and the Public Revenue Council (Comselho da Fazenda), both of which had also their say in the administration of the overseas dominions. With the creation of the Overseas Council all such powers regarding the ad-

ministration of the overseas possessions were attributed to it. The change of the name perhaps only suggests the decreasing importance of India during the seventeenth century as the centre of Portuguese trade.

The Overseas Council handled all the correspondence from the overseas, both incoming and outgoing. The first bundle of correspondence arriving in (primeira via) from the overseas was generally sent directly to the Crown, but the other vias were read and discussed by the Councillors. They noted down their views (consulta or pareceres) on the matter and submit them to the consideration and final approval of the Crown. Hence, although a great majority of the documents from the Overseas Historical Archives are just copies of the documents found in the Codices collection of the Historical Archives of Goa, this additional feature of pareceres recorded along the margins make its documents more valuable.

Among the bound codices there is abundant documentation for the history of the Portuguese Goa-based trade during the seventeenth century (MSS 31-78), as well as for the fiscal administration of Goa (MSS. 218-19, 346, 500). This latter group of codices includes rare information about the income and expenditure of the Portuguese administration of Goa during the years 1623-27, 1630-36. Besides, MS 218 is the only traced accounts book of the Goa factory for the early seventeenth century, and it completes to some extent the information supplied by another lone MS 2316 of the Historical Archives of Goa for the latter half of the seventeenth century.[49]

Very useful information is contained also in thirty-eight steel drawers (Caixas da India), each of them containing an average number of 200 files of loose documents. The number of papers in these files varies from one paper to a large size bundle. These documents include official correspondence with the Indian administration, as well as open and secret reports sent from India by individual serving there and by the village communities of Goa.[50] These thirty-eight Caixas cover the entire seventeenth century.

The National Archives of Lisbon (Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo) is such a big mess of un-catalogued records that no work is possible with economy of time. It was possible to consult there the MSS of the Documentos Remettidos da India which number sixty-two codices in all and belong to the seventeenth century. There was another useful series of three codices entitled Junta da Fazenda do Estado da India: Registo de Alvaras, Provisoes e Patentes(1617-93), containing copies copies of several legislative enactments relating to the fiscal administration of the Portuguese in India during the seventeenth century.

The National Library of Lisbon provided two unpublished MSS (1783, 1978) containing very important information for the economic history of Goa. The first of these MSS contained details about the income and expenditure of the Goa administration for the years 1598-1600, and the second MS was Pero Barreto Rezende's enlarged and revised version of Bocarro's Book.

At the Ajuda Library of Lisbon it was possible to trace a precious codex (MS 46.VIII.20) loaded with information about weights, measures and currency employed in the Portuguese and Spanish trade transactions during the first quarter of the seven-

teenth century.

The visit to the National Library of Madrid was rewarded by a chance-discovery of an un-catalogued MS containing the biography of a Fleming jewel-trader, Jacques de Couttre by name, who had spent the entire first quarter of the seventeenth century in Portuguese India. The gentleman also had his brother living at Goa, and both were married there. Jacques describes in detail the customs and administrative systems of the various countries and places he visited in connection with his trade journeys. He had covered most of the southern India, had paid several visits to the court of Adilshah, and went once to the Mughal court demanding the payment of money which a Mughal ambassador at Goa owed to him for purchasing some diamonds from him. There is one Chapter (Book III: Ch. XIV) describing at length the volume, quality and direction of the Portuguese Goa-based trade.

II b. Records from Private Collections Abroad

The Library of the Jesuit Broteria publication at Lisbon had among other precious documents relating to the Jesuit activity in India during the seventeenth century some photocopies of records which had once belonged to the Jesuit Province of Goa and are at present found in the Archive Generale du Royaume Belgique. The photocopies contain reports of the joint pastoral visits by the Archbishop of Goa and the Jesuit Provincial Superior of Goa to the parishes of Salcete taluka in 1596, 1604, 1618, 1637 and 1650. In these reports we have invaluable information for the socio-economic history of Salcete during the period covered by them. They denounce several social and economic evils that were regarded as contrary to a Christian conscience, and they call upon the

parish priests to eradicate such errors and abuses within their respective jurisdiction.

At Rome, the Jesuit Roman Archives had much to hold our attention. Since J.Wicki has not yet completed the editing of the sixteenth century records pertaining to Indian missions in his Documenta Indica, the documentation for the seventeenth century had to be consulted in manuscript form. Annual letters sent to the General Superior of the Society of Jesus in Rome and many other private accounts about things in India make up the contents of the so-called Goa collection. There are interesting documents also in the Fondo Gesuitico, which is a collection of Jesuit papers entrusted by the Italian Government to the care of the management of the Jesuit Roman Archives and housed in the same premises. The documents in these two collections of Jesuit records are written in Latin, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian. The documents are particularly useful for the study of the rural life in Goa.[51]

Finally, a very brief visit to the Archive of the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" was worth the trouble. In its collection of Scritture Originali there were quite many references to the activities of the Goan native Bishop Matheus de Castro, who was very vocal in 1650's against the oppression of the Portuguese rule at Goa. We came across in the same collection a long report sent by a Theatine missionary in 1663 describing various social and religious malpractices prevailing at Goa.[52]

NOTES

1. Very little is known about the life of Fernao Lopes de Castanheda. His father happened to be the first judge of the city of Goa. Castanheda's chronicle of the Portuguese discovery and conquest of India goes up to 1541.
2. Gaspar Correa was secretary to Afonso de Albuquerque. His Lendas or account of India provides more details than any other chronicle of this period. His story goes up to 1550.
3. Joao de Barros never visited India. He was Crown Agent at the India House in Lisbon. Barros' Decadas excell by their geographical precision in their narratives, which do not extend beyond 1526.
4. APO-CR, III, 497.
5. Soldado Pratico, xx.
6. Ibid., xxiii-xxv.
7. Ibid., 143.
8. Ibid., 246.
9. HAG: MS 1041 (Consultas, n.1), fls. 29-31: It lists Bocarro's services in India from the date of his arrival in 1615.
10. TdT: DRI. 33, fl. 266 contains two titles of the books written by Bocarro and sent to the Crown in 1636. One of these dealt with reformation of the State of India, and the other was a biography of Sancho de Vasconcellos. For a good assessment of Bocarro's works, as well as of the other Portuguese Indian chroniclers, cf. C.R.Boxer, "Antonio Bocarro and the 'Livro do Estado da India Oriental': A bio-bibliographical note", Garcia de Orta, 1956(special issue):203-15; C.R.Boxer, "Three Historians of Portuguese India (Barros, Couto and Bocarro)", Boletim do Instituto Portugues de Hongkong (July, 1948): 13-44; I.A.Macgregor, "Some Aspects of Portuguese Historical Writing of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries on South East Asia", in Historians of South East Asia,

ed. D.G.E.Hall, London, 1961, 172-99; J.B.Harrison,"Five Portuguese Historians", in Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, ed. C.H.Philips, London, 1967, 155-69.

11. Bocarro, Decada XIII, I, 234.

12. The four traced MSS are: Evora Public Library, MS. CXV/2-1; British Museum, Sloane MS 197; National Library of Madrid, MSS 1190 and R-202; National Library of Paris, Fond Portugais MS 1.

13. APO-BP, Bk.IV, Vol.II, Pts. 1-3, Bastora, 1937-38. The edition includes maps of the Portuguese settlements drawn by Pero Barreto Rezende, and these have been reproduced from the Paris Codex.

14. TdT: DRI.57, fl. 312.

15. HAG: Moncoes 25, fl. 86.

16. AHU: India, Caixa 27, doc. 173.

17. Ibid., doc. 201.

18. AHU: India, Caixa 31, doc. 30.

19. DMP, vols. V, VII, XI, XII contain documents for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the form of histories of the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian Orders written at the request of the Royal Academy of Sciences (Lisbon) at the closing of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The original of these records are today preserved in the National Library of Lisbon.

20. The introductions to the histories of Goncalves and Trindade, edited by Wicki and Felix Lopes respectively, provide abundant information about the lives and work of those two authors. We find no such data in the available Bombay edition of Francisco de Souza's Oriente Conquistado. Therefore, for his biodata cf. John Correia-Afonso, Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 123-25.

21. SG, I, xxvi-xxix; OC, I, 3.

22. SG, III, 12.

23. Ibid., 15.

24. Ibid., 91.

25. OC, I, 103-104.

26. Loc. cit.

27. CEO, I, 292-302. Summing up the village-wise totals provided by him we come to 27,000 as the number of Christians in Bardez c. 1635.

28. Ibid.,I, 275.

29. Pyrard de Laval arrived in Goa in June 1608 and left Goa in January 1610. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining the English edition of his travelogue we follow the Portuguese translation.

30. Pietro della Valle arrived in Goa on April 8, 1623. He spent nearly one year at Goa.

31. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier visited Goa twice. First time at the close of the year 1641, and again at the beginning of the year 1648. His first visit was of one week's duration, but his second visit lasted for about two months.

32. John Albert von Mandelslo came up to Ispahan in the company of an embassy sent by the duke of Holstein to Muscovy and Persia. He arrived in Surat in April 1638 and then came to Goa in the company of the English factor of Surat, William Methwold. He stayed at Goa for ten days.

33. Nicolao Manucci reached Goa in May 1667 and left after a long stay of fifteen months. He returned in 1682 or early 1683. On this occasion he acted as a go-between the Portuguese administration of Goa and the Maratha ruler Sambhaji. For these good services he was made Knight of Santhiago. Cf. Storia do Mogor,I, lx; HAG: ACF, XV, fl.31.

34. Abbe Carre reached Goa on the eve of Christmas in 1672. He left a few days later. His mission was to seek the release of all Frenchmen in the Portuguese hands and to send

them to San Thome (Mylapore), which the French had just captured and was being counter-attacked by the Dutch and the Muslims of Golkonda.

35. John Fryer was a doctor in the service of the East India Company of the English. He arrived in Goa at the end of 1675 and left after a few days on the New Year day. He refers to the impact of Shivaji's activities in the Konkan upon the Portuguese coastal trade.

36. Alexander Hamilton paid two short visits to Goa in 1692 and 1704. His account is couched in a scurrilous language which reflects the attitude of a fanatic Protestant against a fanatic Catholic.

37. Gemelli Careri was a globe-trotter like Tavernier. He reached Goa in 1695 and spent there little over a month.

38. Pissurlencar's Roteiro and Gune's Guide are surely of some help to the scholars who wish to consult the Portuguese records of the Goa Archives, but more useful to the scholars are the short and descriptive articles on some of the important collections of this archive, such as Boxer's "A Glimpse of the Goa Archives", Pearson's "The Goa Archives and Indian History", T.R.de Souza's "Goa-Based Portuguese Seaborne Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century". Here we must praise the efforts of the C.E.H.U. (Centre of Overseas Historical Studies, Lisbon) to calendar some important series of records from the Goa Archives. Fifty-seven volumes of Moncoes, six volumes of Reis Vizinhos, and two volumes of Segredos were thus covered in the Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, nn.1-45, 1954-71, which is now defunct. We wish all success to the Indian Council of Historical Research, which has a scheme for resuming the calendaring of the records of the Goa Archives.

39. Amancio Gracias, Subsidios para a historia economico-financeira da India Portuguesa, 84-86. Cf. APO-CR, V, 1181-1246: Regimento of 1589 for the House of Accounts.

40. HAG: Moncoes 19A, fl. 298; ACF, XI, fls. 150, 153v-54.

41. APO-CR, Suppl. 2, 64-65, 174-75: The Hindu tax-farmers promised to pay to their guarantors the highest permissible rate of interest, that is, 10%.

42. During most of the seventeenth century the revenue of the Goa port customs was administered by the Public Revenue Department without farming out. As regards the minting rights, these were always retained by the Government as far as the minting of the small currency was concerned, because it was an important source of profiteering for the Government officials. The minting of gold ans silver, the import of which was not easy to control, was farmed out to individuals. Cf. HAG: MS 7761 (Livro de Termos, Assentos e Juramentos), fls. 95v-96v; MS 779 (Cartas e Ordens, n.1), fl. 41.

43. HAG: 7598, fl. 86v: The compiler of the Tombo states that he could not trace in the archives of the House of Accounts any records of the revenues collected from Bardez. All that he could find was a short note in Kanada script written by Azu Naik, who had been collector of that taluka, indicating the amounts collected under some heads of revenue. This MS has been edited by Pissurlencar as Tombo da Ilha de Goa e das Terras de Salcete e Bardez with excellent explanatory notes at the end.

44. Ghantkar, An Introduction to Goan Marathi Records: In the Foreword the author thanks T.R. de Souza,S.J., for preparing his book for the Press. I must confess that there were more than altruistic motives in the help rendered. To hasten the publication was the only way of my having access to these oldest extant documents of the Goan village communities.

45. Meersman, "The Goa Archives and the History of the Franciscans in India", 171.

46. Cf. App. I c. (Companion Volume)

47. Marcello Caetano, O Conselho Ultramarino. It is sketchy, but excellent and the only well documented history of this Council.

48. Mendes da Luz, O Conselho da India. It is a detailed and well documented study of this Council.

49. De Souza, T.R., "Goa-Based Portuguese Seaborne Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century", 435-36.

50. Cf. App. I d, I h, (Companion Volume).

51. Schurhammer, "Die Anfange des Romischen Archives der Gesellschaft Jesu"; Lamalle, "La Documentation d'histoire missionaire dans le 'Fondo Gesuitico' aux Archives Romaines de la Compagnie de Jesus".

52. Combaluzier, "Un inventaire des Archives de la Propaganda"; Kowalsky, "Inventario dell' Archivo Storico della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide".

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CHAPTER TWO

RIVALS AND NEIGHBOURS

After a century of nearly undisputed mastery over the eastern seas, and after a sufficiently long spell of undisturbed prosperity, misfortunes began falling thick and fast upon the Portuguese empire. In 1580 Portugal lost its independence and the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united in the person of Philip II of Spain, who assumed the title of Philip I of Portugal. It is true that Portuguese administration and the Portuguese trade were left in the hands of the Portuguese nationals, but the royal authority in Spain showed little concern for the growing difficulties of the Portuguese in the East. Portugal had also no foreign policy of its own and the enemies of Spain were turned into enemies of Portugal. Despite promises to the contrary, Spain had also been utilising the financial resources and man-power from Portugal in order to quell the Dutch insurgence against the Spanish rule.[1]

In 1640 the Portuguese regained their independent rule, but it was too late to repair the damage to the national and imperial economy. The century-old fabric of the Portuguese eastern empire had been torn apart and appropriated by its North-European rivals. These reverses had emboldened the native rulers also to flout the trade restrictions imposed on them by the Portuguese and to exploit the competitive market inaugurated by the arrival of the North-Europeans.[2]

What follows is a short review of a long-drawn conflict which deprived the Portuguese of their strong hold over the

Asiatic trade. This review is indispensable as an introduction to the present study because the place of importance to which Goa had risen depended entirely on its being a strategic base of the the Portuguese seaborne trade in the East. Hence, it would be unrealistic to study economic change at Goa within the confines of its geographical boundary.

I. The Portuguese and their North-European Rivals

Neither the English nor the Dutch had been happy with their dependance on the Lisbon market for their supplies of the eastern spices. It was a humiliating experience to the masters of the carrying trade of the Baltic and of the rest of the western Europe.[3] The merchant-adventurers of both these countries had since long back planned and carried out successful preying upon the home-bound wealth-laden vessels of the Iberian empires.[4] Rich prizes had whetted their appetites and tempted them to probe further into the weakness of these empires. Following the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the latter as the weaker partner drew upon itself the fury of the North-Europeans, who fought for spices under the cloak of patriotism and the banner of Reformation.

1. The Portuguese and their English Rivals

The English restricted the use of force to the minimum and succeeded in wresting concessions from the Portuguese through diplomatic tact. The Anglo-Portuguese relations in India reflected very much the pattern of the Anglo-Portuguese relations in Europe. More than once in moments of national crises Portugal had turned to England for help against the enemies threatening her independence. However, England had exploited all such occasions by offering its

alliance to further its business interests in the trade-world of Portugal.[5] With the involvement of the English in the Asiatic trade at the dawn of the seventeenth century, there too the Portuguese were compelled to make concessions to the English in order to buy their neutrality, enabling thereby the Portuguese to concentrate their forces against the Dutch aggressiveness.

In the ominous situation created by the Dutch, the Portuguese could not prevent the English from exploiting their weakness and from strengthening their foothold in the trade of Surat. However, the Portuguese did use whatever little force they could use and tried diplomatic intrigues at the Mughal court to discourage the English trade ambitions. It was only after Captain Thomas had successfully resisted Portuguese attacks off the coast of Surat in 1612, and after Captain Nicholas Downtown had made short work of a Portuguese fleet commanded personally by the viceroy of Goa in 1615, that the Mughal ruler officially sanctioned the trade activities of the English in his lands and accepted an English ambassador in his court.[6]

The Thirty Years' War (1618-48), which had pitted European countries against each other largely on the basis of religious differences, was also responsible for the English and the Dutch co-religionists joining hands in conquering the trade of East Indies.[7] They fought by proxy upholding the grievances of the native princes against the Portuguese. Thus the English assisted the Persians to drive the Portuguese out of Hurmuz in 1622. The Dutch did the same in the Indonesian archipelago and in Ceylon. Fortunately for the Portuguese, the English fell out with the Dutch

over the control of the Spice Islands. The Director of the Dutch East India Company had not reconciled himself to the stipulations of the Dutch agreement with the English in 1619 and was of the opinion that the realization of the Dutch supremacy in the Spice Islands would not be achieved if conquests were to be undertaken jointly with the English.[8] The worsening of their relations culminated with the massacre of Englishmen at Amboina in 1623. This incident disturbed Anglo-Dutch relations in Europe for generations and in Asia it caused the shifting of the English East India Company's interest to the west coast of India and to the Persian Gulf. It also influence the change in the staple of the English trade from spices to textiles.[9]

As a result of the Portuguese initiative and of the willing response of the English, the Anglo-Portuguese relations entered a new phase with the signing of the Goa Accord on January 20, 1635, which marked the cessation of hostilities and inaugurated a phase of mutual assistance.[10] While the long term effect of the truce was restricted to a benevolent neutrality of the English in favour of the Portuguese, there were immediate benefits derived by the two signatories. The Portuguese freighted English vessels to supply provisions to the besieged garrison of Malacca and to fetch copper and ordnance from Macao to Goa through the straits of Singapore where the Dutch were lying in wait for the Portuguese ships.[11] While the English were increasing their profits on the carrying trade, they had a few coasters built in the Portuguese shipyards of Bassein and Daman.[12]

The Anglo-Portuguese relations became tense for a while because the Accord was being violated by some English interlopers who had come to draw benefits of the truce. They belonged to the so-called Courteens' Association. It was only after quite some time that the Portuguese were convinced that the Accord violators were not associated with the English East India Company based at Surat.[13]

Throughout the rest of the seventeenth century the Portuguese and the English were kept together by their common hostilities towards the Dutch. While the English fought three wars with the Dutch in Europe, the Portuguese and the Dutch continued locked in their grim duel for the Asiatic trade. The exhaustion of the Portuguese and their inability to contain the Dutch forced them into a marriage treaty with England in 1661. The treaty included a secret clause whereby the King of England committed himself to bring about cessation of hostilities between the Portuguese and the Dutch, or to fight in favour of the Portuguese if the Dutch refused to negotiate.[14] In return for this secret promise the English merchants were granted the same privileges of trade at Goa, Cochin and Diu as were enjoyed by the Portuguese subjects, but no more than four English families would be allowed to reside at one time at any of those places. The marriage treaty also contained another clause by which the Portuguese Crown ceded the port region of Bombay to the English Crown as dowry of the Princess Catherine of Braganza.[15]

The cession of Bombay, which was carried out by the Portuguese authorities in India with great reluctance after a delay of four

years, proved to be a severe blow to the Portuguese trade interests. The English Crown transferred the island to the English East India Company in 1668 for an insignificant annual rental of £ 10 and the Company proceeded to transform it into its trade headquarters in India.[16] This fact attracted many native businessmen, who until then had invested their capital in the Portuguese trade. Many native traders and artisans saw in Bombay a safe refuge from the intimidations of the Goa Inquisition or from the Portuguese legislation regarding the orphan children of the non-Christians in the Portuguese controlled territories.[17]

The correspondence between the English and the Portuguese in India during the remainder of the seventeenth century was charged with accusations and counter-accusations. Throughout that period the Portuguese tried to obstruct the growth of trade at Bombay by levying heavy transit duties on goods taken from Bassein, Karanja and Thana, and by prohibiting the transport of timber and food provisions to the island of Bombay.[18] The English responded to this harassment by supplying arms and ammunition to the Arabs of Muscat, who had been harrying Portuguese trade and threatening the Portuguese East African trade centre of Mombasa.[19] At the close of the seventeenth century the Englishmen had problems of their own caused by the high-handedness of some English interlopers, who had roused the anger of the Mughal governor of Surat and had led to the temporary occupation of Bombay by the Siddi in 1690.[20]

The English rivalry in India deprived the Portuguese of much of their cloth and indigo supplies from Gujarat.[21] The

Englishmen had also entered the calico market of Sind as an useful subsidiary to their main estabilishment at Surat, and they had created a new and profitable branch of silk trade, thereby winning for themselves an important position in the trade with the Persian Gulf.[22] After the acquisition of Bombay the English also challenged the Portuguese trade in tobacco, which was brought to India from Brazil via Lisbon and was found out to be the only profit making item of the Asiatic trade of Portugal in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. At least a part of the tobacco which the English sold at Bombay was purchased at Lisbon itself.[23]

2. The Portuguese and their Dutch Rivals

When the Dutch came to the East Indies, their considerable financial resources and their long commercial experience gave them an edge even over the English, and hence, much more over the Portuguese. Besides, their superior naval organization and far less organizational hurdles made the Dutch challenge to the "Lords of commerce and navigation" a tremendously overawing experience. The Dutch harried systematically the Portuguese interport trade of Asia from the Persian Gulf to Japan, and they reduced many of the long chain of Portuguese settlements by picking them off one by one.[24]

To start with the Dutch had begun their operations in the Indonesian archipelago, which Linschoten's Itinerario had indicated as the least controlled region by the Portuguese, and as such offering no possibility of a serious clash with them. It was only after the Dutch had tested the strength of the Portuguese

in Asia that they ventured to broaden their area of confrontation.[25] The overbearing attitude of the Portuguese fort captains and their extortions from the native merchants of the spice islands had won easy allies for the Dutch. With their support and active collaboration the Dutch restricted the Portuguese influence to Malacca, which also lost its importance rapidly and fell into the Dutch hands in 1641. Little earlier the Dutch had already wrested from the Portuguese their rich monopoly of the Japanese trade, and the straits of Singapore were no longer safe for the Portuguese shipping with the Dutch gun-boats lying in wait for the Portuguese vessels, particularly those engaged in trade with Macao and Manilla.[26]

The Dutch had stepped up their aggression in the Indian Ocean after the Portuguese had come to an understanding with the English in 1635 in the form of Goa Accord. Along with a campaign of diplomatic intrigues at the Mughal court, the Dutch initiated a practice of blockading the Goa port every year at the time of the arrival and departure of the ships of the Carreira da India.[27] These regular blockades disrupted the Portuguese Goa-based seaborne trade quite effectively, so much so that between 1640-1644 not a single carrack could leave Goa for Portugal.[28] The loading and unloading operations of the Carreira ships were then shifted to the northern ports of Chaul, Bassein and Bombay, though this meant a lot of extra expenditure in the transport of goods and bullion from the northern ports to Goa and vice-versa.[29]

When the Portuguese regained their independence in 1640, the Dutch hailed the Portuguese revolt as a blow to Spain, but they

showed no eagerness to relieve their pressure upon the Portuguese colonies in the East Indies. The Dutch did accept a ten-years truce in favour of the Portuguese, but its ratification was delayed to gain time to effect the capture of Malacca. Blockading of Goa port continued and the tempo of attacks on Ceylon was intensified. The Dutch did not want the truce to snatch from their hands what they considered to be a sure catch. In the meantime the Portuguese were trying frantically to convince the Dutch that they were bound morally to honour the terms of the truce.[30]

Before the said truce had come to an end in 1652, the Portuguese arms had received a boost in the form of a successful campaign against the Dutch in Brazil.[31] The Portuguese had also succeeded in winning over the ruler of Macassar in the Spice islands to resist the Dutch claims and to keep them distracted there.[32] Portugal had also initiated negotiations with England in order to ensure English support once the hostilities with the Dutch were resumed.[33] However, in spite of all these precautionary and countering measures, the fury of the Dutch attacks, when these were renewed, was beyond the Portuguese arms to contain. By 1658 the Dutch conquered all the Portuguese settlements in coastal Ceylon, and by 1663 they had rounded off their Asian conquests with the capture of Cochin and the other Portuguese strongholds on the Malabar coast.[34] The Hague treaty of 1661 put an official end to the Luso-Dutch feud, which the Portuguese had no wish to renew even when the Anglo-Dutch ward of 1665-67 and 1672-74 presented promising opportunities for regaining some of the losses.[35]

The effects of the prolonged Luso-Dutch conflict were disastrous and devastating for the Portuguese. During the conflict Portuguese India was bled white, both in terms of manpower and financial resources. At the end of the conflict the gorgeous East was a thing of the Portuguese past glory. Even though only fragmentary statistical information is available to calculate Portuguese losses, it is sufficient as an indicator to the magnitude of the total losses. During one decade between the years 1629-1639 the Portuguese lost nearly 6,000 men, 160 ships, and over 7,500,000 xerafins as booty, mostly to the Dutch.[36] Much more serious losses followed in the sieges of Malacca, Colombo and the Kanara and Malabar settlements.

II. The Portuguese and the Neighbouring Princes

The control of the Indian seaborne trade by the Portuguese at gun-point had forced the Muslim rulers of the Deccan in 1570 to a concerted action for driving out the Portuguese. However, this lone and praiseworthy exception in Indian history ended in a fiasco. May be their defeat is to be attributed largely to the determination of the Portuguese to stay on. It may not be a wild fit of imagination also to suppose that in the wake of the extinction of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar at the hands of the same Muslim coalition, the Hindu population of the Portuguese dominions and from the neighbourhood intervened to sabotage the Muslim enterprise.[37] Sixty years earlier, when the Portuguese captured Goa, the success of the Portuguese was made possible by the native Hindu population which fought side by side with the Portuguese to liquidate their Muslim overlords.[38]

Even though the Portuguese had come out unscathed and had been successful in reiterating their determination to continue acting as "lords of navigation and commerce", they had not failed to learn their lesson. They had narrowly escaped from being pushed into the sea by the land forces of the neighbouring princes. The situation had changed with the arrival of new European naval powers, whose alliance the native powers were likely to seek to blunt the edge of the Portuguese superiority. This realization forced the Portuguese to be cautious and more restrained in the enforcement of the sea control and in their relations with their neighbours in the course of the seventeenth century.[39]

1. Portuguese-Mughal Relations, 1600-1700

The Portuguese came into contact with the Mughals when Akbar annexed Gujarat to his empire in 1573. Akbar then tried to win the friendship of the Portuguese in India by exploiting their proselytizing zeal. His pretentions were so well disguised that it took the wise Jesuits quite some time to realize that the Mughal emperor was playing a political game.[40] However, Akbar continued to press for the presence of the Portuguese Jesuits at his court, left the Portuguese with Daman in his Gujarat subah, promised not to shelter the Malabar pirates, and agreed to the condition that he would be entitled to only one cartaz-free ship to make voyage to the Red Sea once a year.[41] The Portuguese on their side were well aware of Akbar's might and of the vulnerability of several of their forts on the western Indian coast. Thus they took pains not to offend the Mughals, and the Jesuits were coaxed to continue residing at the Mughal court despite their

repeated reports expressing the futility of their continuing there.[42] Portuguese interests in Gujarat formed the backbone of the Portuguese revenue in the East. From their establishments at Bassein, Daman and Diu they issued cartazes to all ships leaving the ports of Gujarat and collected the passport fees. The Portuguese coastal fleets from Goa visited the ports of Gujarat every year and carried large proportion of the merchandise exported from the province, particularly cloths.[43] Indigo also formed and important item of trade with Gujarat.[44] The importance of this trade can be gauged from a report sent by the Goa municipal council to the King of Portugal in 1606: " The disturbances in Gujarat where the natives have rebelled against the Mughal have taken a heavy toll of the revenues of this Portuguese State of India, because the vanias (banianes) were the ones who patronized most of our customs."[45]

It was during the rule of the successors of Akbar that the Portuguese-Mughal relations were strained on different occasions. When the Portuguese saw, for instance, that in spite of the efforts of the Jesuits at the court of Jehangir to dissuade the emperor he was responding favourably to the approaches of the Englishmen and had even grated them permission to have a trade counter at Surat, the viceroy of Goa ordered the admiral of the Portuguese fleet in the northern seas to lie in wait for any ship of the Mughals that might return from Mecca to Surat. A vessel returning from Mecca with large amount of precious cargo was accordingly captured, sacked and set afire.[46] The hostilities which ensued led to the siege of Daman by land, while the Portuguese retaliated

by bombarding the port towns of Broach, Gogala and Surat. Neither party derived any substantial benefit from the war which lasted two years until a peace treaty was signed on June 7, 1615. The war had damaged the economy of both the contenders. As reported by the Chief Revenue Superintendent of the Portuguese State of India on December 25, 1614, "the State of India is in a miserable situation because its customs are without revenues as a result of hostilities with Mughal and the consequent disruption of the trade with Gujarat."[47]

Even though the very first clause of the treaty of 1615 required that the Mughal emperor should expel the North Europeans from Surat and refuse entry, protection and replenishments to their ships in any port of the Mughal empire, it remained a dead letter. The Mughal emperor accepted that very year the Englishman Thomas Roe as an accredited ambassador of the Crown of England at his court. Jehangir was convinced by the events which he had witnessed that the superiority of the English naval power could be effectively used to check the insolence of the Portuguese.[48]

The Portuguese were also aware of the fact that the Mughal could cause great harm to them by utilising the naval arm of the English or of the Dutch. Accordingly, they pretended to ignore the demands of the treaty and their fulfilment on the part of the Mughal. They had also adopted a more flexible policy of sea control with regards to Mughal shipping: Mughal ships were often allowed to leave the ports of Gujarat without cartazes but under condition of paying customs duties on the outgoing and incoming goods at the Portuguese customs house at Daman.[49]

Soon after Shahjahan took into his hands the reins of the Mughal empire the Portuguese were in for some rough time again. Shahjahan had several grievances against the Portuguese administration in India, as well as against the Portuguese renegades and adventurers in Bengal. His anger took the form of a campaign against the Portuguese settlement at Hughly, which he captured and carried several thousands of Portuguese men, women and children prisoners to Agra, where he converted them to Islam or reduced them to slavery.[50]

After Shahjahan annexed the lands of Nizam Shah to his empire in 1636 the Portuguese at Daman were living under a permanent threat of the Mughal forces. For a couple of years or two the Mughals succeeded in subduing the ruler of Ramnagar, known to the Portuguese as Choutea. The Mughals then demanded from the Portuguese a contribution (cauth) which they had been paying to the King of Ramnagar. The Portuguese subjects who cultivated the lands of Daman were thus required to pay not only the usual 17 % of the produce, which they paid to the Choutea, but an increased rate of 25 %. The Mughals refused to pay any heed to the representations of the Portuguese administration.[51]

When Aurangzib took over the Mughal administration in 1658 the situation in the Deccan took a serious turn and forced the Portuguese to be on their guard. Aurangzib was decided to bring to a successful end the plans of his forefathers for the subjugation of the Deccan, and perhaps, of the entire Indian subcontinent. He personally assumed the command of the operations and shifted his court from Agra to Daulatabad. However, there was a new ele-

ment, which Aurangzib's predecessors had not faced: the Marathas. During the Mughal-Maratha conflict the Portuguese kept themselves at arm's length, praised Shivaji's valour as no other contemporaries have done, and prayed that the duel might last long and save the Portuguese from the ambitious designs of both the mighty neighbours.[52]

2. Portuguese-Ahmadnagar Relations, 1600-1636

Until 1600 there had been constant and serious frictions between the Nizam Shahi and the Portuguese, but after this they shared community of interests and considerations of safety against Mughal aggressiveness. The Portuguese had their prosperous Province of the North and its safety required the preservation of Ahmadnagar as a buffer State. Time and again the viceroys in India received instructions from the King of Portugal to make their own the cause of Malik Ambar, who was straining all his military and diplomatic skill to keep Nizam Shahi alive.[53]

In 1604 Malik ambar granted to the Portuguese the right to collect half of the land revenue in Chaul in recognition of the aid he was receiving to resist the Mughal forces. The Portuguese proved true to their traditions and resorted to high-handed exactions from the peasants of Chaul. Malik intervened to put an end to these abuses, but the Portuguese could not bear the idea of being corrected by a pgan. Both sides resorted to violent attacks and the hostilities lasted for several years until an imminent threat of the Mughal forces to both of them brought them to mutual understanding in 1615 through the media-

tion of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur. A tripartite agreement was concluded at Nauraspur, near Bijapur, in 1615.[54]

In 1625 the Portuguese resumed hostilities in Chaul and the provocation led to the capture of Dabhol by Malik Ambar. Thereafter some sort of truce was concluded.[55] The following year Malik Ambar died and was succeeded by his less talented son Fath Khan. The year 1627 saw the passing away of Ibrahim Adil Shah II who had been friendly with Malik Ambar. Also the Mughal emperor Jehangir died that same year. The fresh arrangement of the political chessboard proved fatal to Ahmadnagar. The new rulers of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur were more divided than ever before, and this enabled Shahjahan to woo Bijapur and break the backbone of Ahmadnagar's resistance once and for all.[56]

Shahji Bhosle, a Maratha general, who at different times had served the Nizam Shahi, the Adil Shahi and the Mughal, made a bid to shore up the sinking fortunes of Ahmadnagar. In his total isolation he appealed to the Portuguese for help, but the latter were cautious and did not want to invite upon themselves the wrath of the combined forces of Shahjahan and Adil Shah.[57] In 1636 Nizam Shahi ceased to exist. A letter of the King of Portugal to the viceroy in India refers to the difficulties that resulted from the disappearence of an independent Ahmadnagar. In these circumstances the letter instructed the viceroy to seek all means to sow dissensions among the Mughal and the Dutch, and this is described as an urgent need in order to prevent the loss of Bassein, Chaul, Daman and Diu, to all of which the Mughal claimed right as the new master of Ahmadnagar.[58]

3. Portuguese-Bijapur Relations, 1600-1686

Portuguese relationship with Bijapur is particularly significant because the capital town of the Portuguese in India had been wrested from Bijapur in 1510. Also its neighbouring provinces of Saloete and Bardez had belonged to Bijapur and had passed into Portuguese hands in 1543. Until 1579 Adil Shah made repeated attempts to regain these lost territories. The seventeenth century inaugurated a phase of peaceful relationship between the Portuguese and Bijapur with the exception of two breaches in 1654 and 1659.

During the first quarter of the seventeenth century the Portuguese-Bijapur relations were conspicuously cordial and some minor frictions did not lead to any serious conflict. The good services of Ibrahim Adil Shah were even sought by the Portuguese to act as intermediary between them and the Nizam Shahi in 1615. As the first quarter of the century was coming to its end, the relations entered a phase of a long drawn tension resulting from provocations and retaliations from either side. Already in 1623 the Bijapuris had approached the English seeking a pact with them to expel the Portuguese, but this request was not taken up by the English with enthusiasm because of Roe's "go slow" policy with regards to getting involved into hostilities in India.[59]

Adil Shah began expressing his grievances openly when the Portuguese captured two vessels belonging to him in the Persian Gulf and killed their crew in cold blood in the year 1629. Adil Shah retaliated by detaining a Portuguese vessel carrying the

Portuguese revenue comptroller of Muscat in the port of Rajapur, where the vessel had sought shelter against tempest after obtaining permission of the Bijapuri authorities to enter.[60] The Portuguese added more fuel to the flame by seizing yet another vessel of Adil Shah.[61] To this the Bijapuris reacted very sharply by withdrawing their ambassador at Goa, by closing all the ports in Adil Shah's territory to Portuguese shipping, by stopping all food supplies to Goa, and by threatening to invade the provinces of Bardez and Salcete.[62]

The Portuguese had sensed the gravity of the developments and how they could ill afford to have a war with Adil Shah. Unexpected circumstances played in their hands and provided them with the required opportunity to diffuse the tension . This happened when the joint forces of the Mughals and Nizam Shahi besieged Bijapur in April 1632 and the Portuguese received a frantic call from Adil Shah to help him with gunners, powder and ammunition. The Portuguese did not only accede to the request, but even offered to manufacture gunpowder and ammunition for Adil Shah if he would send the necessary raw materials.[63] The aid was sent with utmost secrecy, and while ostensibly it was shown as a favour done to Adil Shah, the Portuguese knew well that a defeat of Bijapur at the hands of the Mughal would be damaging to the safety of the Portuguese in the heart of their empire.[64]

After a short interval of respite there followed another bout of tense relations, which culminated with large scale invasion of Bardez and Salcete in 1654 and another minor invasion

of the same provinces five years later. The renewal of tension was caused by the facilities granted by Adil Shah to the English and to the Dutch at Dabhol, Karwar, Rajapur and Vingurla. The Portuguese felt particularly aggrieved by the concessions made to the Dutch, whose attacks on the Portuguese shipping and the blockades of the Goa port had become more intense and regular after they had obtained facilities for replenishments at Vingurla.[65] The Dutch had also been instigating Adil Shah to attack Goa by land while they would intensify their attacks by sea. Adil Shah appears to have been taken up by the idea, and even the mode of sharing the booty was apparently settled. However, more pressing engagements of Adil Shah in Kanara saved the Portuguese at Goa.[66] But in 1654 Adil Shah did not resist the temptation of capturing the Portuguese territories of Bardez and Salcete. Apparently, the invasion was effected at the request of the Goan native brahmin Bishop, Matheus de Castro Mahale, who was residing in the Bijapuri town of Bicholim. The Bishop had developed a hatred for the Portuguese colonial rule in his native land and had been instigating the Goans to revolt and shake off the Portuguese yoke.[67] He had the hope of rousing the natives to revolt at the time when the forces of Adil Shah would march in. However, the Portuguese had already smelled his subversive plans and frustrated the possibilities of his organizing the fifth-columnists. The invasion by the Bijapuri forces ended in a fiasco.[68]

After 1656 the Bijapuris had to deal with the Mughals and the Marathas. There were also the <u>desais</u> who were resisting subjugatic

by any of these powers and their tendency to seek refuge in the Portuguese territory often placed the Portuguese in embarrassing situations. But the Portuguese favoured secretly the guerilla movements of these desais to keep the powers concerned distracted with campaigns to bring them to book.[69]

On the whole the Portuguese-Bijapur relations were more cordial than the relations of the Portuguese with any other neighbour of their in western India. It had to be so because the Portuguese in Goa depended heavily on Bijapur (Balghat) for their food supplies and many other daily necessities. Portuguese Goa-based trade also depended on Bijapur for the supplies of cloths. Precious stones, which constituted the second most important trade item, were brought from Golkonda via Bijapur.[70] Most of the saltpetre for the gunpowder manufactory of Goa was obtained from Bijapur, and so also the sailors who manned the coastal fleets of the Portuguese.[71] All these considerations compelled the Portuguese to grant a most favoured treatment to the rulers of Bijapur. According to the terms of a treaty signed with Bijapur in 1571, and which remained substantially in force throughout the seventeenth century, Adil Shah received annualy six duty free cartazes, was allowed to import duty free twenty-five horses every year, could import from Goa without paying customs duty goods worth 6,000 golden pardaus every year, and was promised half share in the booty whenever the Portuguese captured any ships in the ports of Bijapur for not carrying Portuguese cartazes.[72]

4. Portuguese-Kanara Relations, 1600-1700

The capture of Goa in 1510 was effected by Afonso de Albuquerque on advice and active collaboration of Timmaya, a naval chief of Honavar, a principality of Kanara.[73] Thereafter, Goa and most of the scattered settlements of the Portuguese in Asia were sustained with rice supplies from Kanara, while the pepper cargoes from Kanara justified the pains taken by the Portuguese in founding an empire in the East Indies.[74] Kanarawas also the main supplier of teak timber for the works of the Goa shipyard.[75]

Kanara had been a mosaic of petty principalities which enjoyed large degree of autonomy, earlier under Vijayanagar until 1565, and later on under Bijapur. The Portuguese had been dealing with them directly and had made treaty agreements with their rulers. By these treaties the petty chiefs were made to supply to the Portuguese a definite number of rice bales by way of tribute (pareas). They were also compelled by the terms of the same treaties to provide pepper cargoes to the Portuguese ships of the Carreira at moderate rates. This exploitation by the Portuguese went unchecked during most of the sixteenth century.[76]

Along with other troubles from different quarters, the Portuguese began facing difficulties in Kanara as well, with the dawn of the seventeenth century. The Nayaks of the Keladi family had begun showing expansionist desires of their own. The sixth ruler of that family, Venkatappa Nayak (1592-1629), had succeeded

In annexing the territory of the queen of Gersoppa, called the queen of pepper by the Portuguese, and he had turned his attention towards the lands belonging to the chiefs of Bangher and Mangalor, where the Portuguese had their settlements and counters. The Portuguese could easily foresee the harm which this unification bid of the Nayak would bring to their trade interests and the problems which it would cause to the Portuguese presence in the East. This is clear in the instructions that were addressed by the King of Portugal to the viceroys in India. The latter were instructed to frustrate the designs of the Nayaks of Ikkeri by setting Adil Shah against him and by welding the other chiefs of Kanara into a confederacy against Venkatappa Nayak.[77]

The Portuguese had too many difficulties of their own to be able to provide any effective assistance to the petty chiefs of Kanara, who were seeking Portuguese protection against Venkatappa's imperialist ambitions. They were absorbed one by one until Venkatappa extended his kingdom to include in it all the territories between the rivers Mirjan and Chandragiri. The Portuguese were left untouched in their forts at Basrur, Honavar and Mangalor, but their dictates were no longer going to be tolerated. Venkatappa had made his estimates of the power and wealth of the Portuguese. He made overtures to the English regarding sale of pepper to them.[78] The military operations against Bangher were also directed against the Portuguese at Mangalor. The Portuguese saw the new line of attack and chose to disown the cause of the chief of Bangher. In January 1620 the Portuguese came to a treaty agreement

with the Nayak. It was the first in the series of treaties which the Nayaks of Ikkeri would dictate to the Portuguese.

Following the death of Venkatappa in November 1629 the Portuguese tried to exploit the situation caused by the contest for succession in Bidnur. The Portuguese were inclined to consider Virappa as the rightful heir because he showed himself more amenable to Portuguese pretentions.[79] However, the Portuguese gains were short lived as Virappa died a few months after signing an agreement with the Portuguese, and Virabhadra Nayak remained the uncontested ruler of Kanara. The new ruler could not immediately win the submission of the many petty chieftains who had been subjugated by his Kelady predecessors. The Portuguese aided the rebel chieftains and at the same time approached Virabhadra with the proposal of their readiness to mediate between him and the rebels. The proposal was rejected by Virabhadra, whose campaign to subdue the chieftains was coming to a successful end. On the contrary, in order to punish the meddlers, Virabhadra imposed a ban on the purchase of rice by the Portuguese in Basrur.[80] As a result, the Portuguese who could not afford to do without Kanara rice agreed to come to an agreement: The Portuguese would retain their position in Basrur, but they would not fortify the peninsula of Gangolly as they wished to do. Thus, a <u>status quo</u> was maintained regarding the issue which had become a bone of contention between the Portuguese and the Nayak.[81] But there were other clauses on which concessions were made by either side: The Portuguese could fell all the timber

they wished to have for the Goa shipyard, and timber for twenty-four masts would be cut and delivered to them by the Nayak at the mouths of the rivers Gersoppa and Sangari. The Portuguese agreed to buy 500 khandis of pepper from the Nayak immediately, and another 350 khandis every subsequent year at the rate of 22 pagodas a khandi. The Nayak was also given right to import twelve horses every year without paying customs duty to the Portuguese, and to have two duty-free cartazes for his ships.[82]

Hardly a year had passed after signing the treaty and Virabhadra required that the Portuguese should pay him 28 pagodas for a khandi of pepper, claiming that the English were willing to offer him 30 pagodas per khandi. He threatened with a new ban on rice purchases if the Portuguese refused to yield to his demand. The Portuguese did refuse the terms and their ship of Carreira left for Portugal in 1636 with only 6 to 700 quintals of pepper which was stocked prior to the blockade. To punish the intransigence of Virabhadra they intensified the naval control of the Kanara coast to prevent any pepper or rice from being taken out. This tough action brought Virabhadra to his senses and he realized that the trade with the Portuguese alone was bringing into his treasury an average of 500,000 pagodas every year.[83] The Portuguese reciprocated to the improved behaviour of Virabhadra by supplying him guns, powder and ammunition to stand the attacks of Adil Shah, who had already captured a number of Kanara forts.[84]

Shivappa Nayak, who began his rule in 1645, was determined to bring to completion the expansionist plans initiated by his

predecessors. Within a decade from his coming to power he deprived the Portuguese of all their establishments in Kanara.[85] Shivappa's success was due largely to the timeliness of his operations against the Portuguese: The Portuguese were locked in a desperate campaign with the Dutch in Ceylon, and in Goa preparations were afoot to resist an impending invasion by Adil Shah. Economically also the Portuguese faced a hopeless situation: Every possible source was tapped to finance the defence efforts. It was in such a context that Shivappa was willing to raise the siege of Honavar if the Portuguese would buy from him 1000 khandis of pepper immediately and 500 khandis every subsequent year at the rate of 28 pagodas.[86] The Portuguese were in no position to buy even 300 khandis for the quoted price.[87] The Portuguese were left with no other alternative but to order the garrison of the Honawar fort, which was surviving on rats and cats, to quit the place.[88]

Following their expulsion from Kanara the Portuguese tried to give vent to their rage by scouring the coast of Kanara with whatever ridiculous navy they still possessed. Even the rage of the Portuguese had to be restrained: Rice supplies from the North could never be sufficient and fresh attacks by the neighbours of that province could not be ruled out. These considerations led the Portuguese to be more realistic in their approach with Kanara.[89]

After Shivappa died in 1660, his son Somashker Nayak sent an ambassador to Goa inviting the Portuguese to re-establish their counters at Basrur, Honavar and Mangalor. The negotiations ended

with a treaty that was signed on April 30, 1671.[90] The treaty remained a dead letter and the Portuguese could not re-enter Kanara because of the threats of the Dutch, who sent their fleets to Kanara to pressurise the ruler of Kanara to give up the idea of bringing the Portuguese back.[91] The Portuguese in the meantime continued their favourite pastime of patrolling the coast.

Somashker Nayak was assassinated in December 1671. An infant grandson, Basava Nayak, was placed on the throne, but the power was in the hands of the queen mother and her favourite, Timmaya Nayak.[92] The Portuguese did not like the attitude of the new rulers, who were favouring trade with the Arabs of Muscat and had granted them permission to have factory in Kanara. The purchase of the Kanara rice by the Arabs led to a sharp rise in the price of rice from less than eight pagodas to fourteen pagodas per corja or score of bales.[93] The Portuguese, who had re-established counters in Kanara, now closed them down and resorted to gunboat diplomacy once again. A new succession feud raised the hopes of the Portuguese for a while, but it was ultimately with the queen and the prince that the Portuguese signed a new treaty on December 15, 1678, whereby the Portuguese obtained a factory in Mangalor and the promise that the Arabs would have no access to the Kanara ports.[94] The Arabs, however, continued to frequent Kanara ports and they even set fire to a Portuguese ship convoy in Mangalor waters in 1695. The Portuguese wished to withdraw from Kanara and resume hostilities, but on second thoughts they only expressed their displeasure to the queen.[95]

5. Portuguese-Maratha Relations, 1636-1700

Portuguese-Maratha relations are particularly significant to a student of the history of the Goan people considering the fact that long before Shivaji laid the foundations of the Maratha State Goa shared cultural life of the Maratha region around it. There is undeniable evidence to prove that the Varkari Panth,[96] which gave the first shape to Maratha literature and brought about a cultural unification of the Marathas, had its devotees in Goa. The Jesuit historian, Sebastiao Goncalves wrote in a letter dated November 1565 and written from Goa that the Hindus of Goa could be heard singing on the streets of the town some invocations to the god Vithal of Pandarpur.[97] Marathas, as an ethnic group, were also an important segment of the Goan population. Apparently, after conversion they gave rise to the Chardo caste, which vied with the brahmins for social equality.[98] The ascendancy of the Marathas in the social status in Goa is attributed to the rule of the Silaharas in Goa c. seventh century A.D.[99] In addition to the Maratha race and the Varkari religion, there was the Marathi language, which had gained firm foothold in Goa, as it can be can be gathered from the extant epigraphic and documentary evidence.[100] Although the Portuguese discouraged the development of the vernacular language and literature, the recording of the proceedings of the village councils continued to be done in Marathi until the second decade of the seventeenth century.[101] It is against this background that the study of the Portuguese-Maratha relations becomes more meaningful and significant.

The first contact between the Portuguese and the Marathas on political level is recorded in a letter addressed by Shahji Bhosle to the Portuguese captain of Chaul on September 26, 1636. Finding it impossible to revive Nizam Shahi against the joint aggressiveness of the Mughal and Adil Shah, Shahji was appealing to the Portuguese for help and was requesting shelter for his wife and children. The Portuguese refused to provide miliatry assistance, but they were willing to offer shelter to his family.[102]

The earliest reference to Shivaji as Shahji's son occurs in a Portuguese record of 1657.[103] By and large the Portuguese looked favourably upon the rise of Maratha power under Shivaji's leadership. In the context of the growing might of the Mughal the rise of the Marathas was a godsend to the Portuguese promising to them a more stable balance of power. But as long as Shivaji's activity was confined to the Deccan, the Portuguese could safely entertain feelings of genuine appreciation of his achievements. During 1657-59 Shivaji added most of the North Konkan to his dominions, thereby making the Portuguese feel that he meant serious business. Shivaji's frictions with the Siddi of Danda, and Shivaji's plans to express his sovereignty by building a navy, made the Portuguese intensely aware of his vicinity.[104] It was then that the Portuguese adopted a policy of open friendliness and silent obstructionism. The policy of obstructionism was aimed at frustrating the ambitious plans of Shivaji to have maritime forts and a strong fleet. Among the

reasons put forth by the State Councillors to justify this policy we read that "if he (Shivaji) succeeded in capturing some Portuguese vessels, the taste for booty would encourage him to intensify such harmful adventures, and the Portuguese friendship with him was not firm enough to check such a development. Besides, Shivaji had proved himself to be a good pay master and with his ready cash he had been alluring not only natives but even Portuguese renegades into his service".[105] However, the Portuguese were so deeply involved in their struggle with the Dutch and with the rulers of Kanara that there was neither will nor means to face another contender close at home. Hence, the Portuguese failed to checke the cherished goal of Shivaji. When he raided Basrur and brought back an immense booty, he had 85 vessels, big and small, which took part in the operations.[106] According to a report of the Portuguese viceroy of India in 1667: "I am worried with his growing might in the sea, because he has built marine forts which could have been impeded right in the beginning, and he has a large number of vessels, although all of them are not big in size."[107]

The Portuguese kept themselves well informed about the movements of Shivaji and they were quite impressed by his guerilla tactics marked by lightning operations against his enemies and collection of fabulous sums of gold. With their long experience of dealing with the Indian rulers the Portuguese had assessed Shivaji's might rightly. Aware of his capacity to cause harm to them, the Portuguese kept the Siddi supplied with food provisions, fighting material and money to keep Shivaji distracted as long as

possible.[108] The Portuguese also armed and provided asylum to desais of Kudal, Pernem and Bicholim during their fight against Shivaji.[109] The Portuguese had also given in to the threats of Mirza Raja Jay Singh, who had been sent by Aurangzib against Shivaji, and given him some ordnance pieces.[110] Shivaji replied to the mischief playing Portuguese by invading Bardez in November 1667 and by looting the region for a couple of days.[111]

After Shivaji's open campaign against the Portuguese in Bardez, he also tried to capture the very town of Goa by infiltrating his men. This ruse was detected by the Portuguese in time and his bid to capture Goa was frustrated.[112] In 1679-80 Shivaji had planned an all out war with the Portuguese, who were stubbornly continuing their aid to the Siddi of Janjira and were refusing to satisfy Shivaji's demands about the payment of Chauth.[113] However, unexpected news of Shivaji's death brought relief to the Portuguese, who were tense with expectations of his attack.[114]

Portuguese-Maratha relations were seriously disturbed during the short rule of Sambhaji. Anticipating Sambhaji's plans to fortify the Anjidiv island, the Portuguese foiled the bid by quickly taking possession of that island, a measure which the Portuguese considered as vital to safeguard the safety of the grain carrying vessels plying between Kanara and Goa.[115] The Portuguese had also allowed the Mughal troops to cross the Portuguese province of the North in their advance against Sambhaji's positions.[116] Sambhaji reacted sharply by mounting a massive attack on Goa in 1683, and were it not for the news of Mughal troops coming to meet

Sambhaji, Goa would have fallen into Sambhaji's hands, while the Portuguese officials were gathered round the relics of St. Francis Xavier seeking his intercession and protection.[117] Peace between the Portuguese and Marathas was restored, and Sambhaji could not trouble the Portuguese thereafter deeply engaged as he was with the Mughal forces until his pitiable death at their hands in 1669. Following the death of Sambhaji, his younger brother Rajaram sought refuge in Ginji and his generals continue a guerilla type of warfare against the Mughal forces which had almost occupied the entire Maratha territory. Placed in this situation the Portuguese resorted to a renversement of policy, whereby they began favouring the Maratha chieftains in their fight against the Mughals.[118] Shah Alam's demand of a huge fee for having saved Goa from falling into Sambhaji's hands, as well as his plot to seize Goa by treachery had convinced the Portuguese that it was more convenient for them to have weak Marathas as their neighbours than a powerful Mughal.[119]

The Portuguese-Maratha relations had their repercussions upon the local economy of Goa, as well as upon the Portuguese Goa-based seaborne trade. The local economy depended on the mainland for the supply of a variety of essential commodities which were exchanged for copra, palm sugar, areca nuts and salt produced in Goa. When Shivaji established salt monopoly in his lands and created salt depots at Manneri and Fatorpa in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese territory of Goa, it became difficult to find outlet for the salt which was the main exchange commodity of the Goan traders.[120] By way of retaliation the Portuguese authorities

began compelling the fisherfolk that came from the Maratha territory to fish in the rivers of Chapora or Aldona to buya ll the salt they require for salting the fish they caught there.[121]

As regards the coastal and the seaborne trade of the Portuguese, the navy of Shivaji never turned out to be a serious threat to the Portuguese naval superiority, but it became a source of constant irritation to the Portuguese because of its interference with the Portuguese coastal trading.[122] What harmed Portuguese seaborne trade most were the constant wars waged by the Marathas in the Deccan and elsewhere. These wars were a serious obstruction to the supply line of the trade items. The ships of the Carreira could not leave for Portugal with the desired regularity, because while the Dutch were preventing the safe arrival of the ship convoys bringing cloths from Kutch, the Maratha wars impeded the arrival of diamonds from Balghat.[123] The third important trade item was saltpetre. When the carrack Bom Jesus de Sao Domingos left for Portugal in January 1677 it could not carry any load of saltpetre, and the reason given by the Chief Revenue Superintendent to justify the lack of saltpetre is that Shivaji's wars had thrown the entire Portuguese trade into disarray.[124]

In addition to the above long term consequences, temporary damage of no less consequence resulted from the Maratha invasions of Goa. Thus, Shivaji's invasion of Bardez in 1667 was accompanied by heavy loss in cattle, and Sambhaji's invasion in 1683 destroyed palm groves and paddy crop of Bardez and the salt industry of Salcete.[125]

NOTES

1. Livermore, A New History of Portugal, 158-72; Ameal, Historia de Portugal, 329-52.
2. Ganguli, Readings in Indian Economic History, 64 ff.
3. Luzzato, Storia Economica dell' Eta Moderna e Contemporanea, 212 ff.; Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, 11-13.
4. Boxer, PSE, 110-111.
5. Livermore, op.cit., 176, 182-84.
6. Harrison, "Europe and Asia" , NCMH, IV, Cambridge, 1970: 660-61; Low, History of the Indian Navy, 1613-1683, 13-15.
7. Harrison, op.cit., 651; Meilink-Roelofsz, Asian Trade and European Influence, 197, 202; Moreland, op. cit., 23.
8. Harrison, loc. cit.; Meilink-Roelofsz, op. cit., 203.
9. Meilink-Roelofsz, op. cit., 203.
10. Biker, CT, II, 50-53; Boxer, "The General of the Galleons and the Anglo-Portuguese Truce Celebrated at Goa in January 1635", 27 ff.; Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 3-6.
11. HAG: MS 1416 (Livro de Segredo), fls. 6-7, 11, 66-67; ACF, IV: fls. 160v-161, V: fls. 50, 59-59v, 60, 63v-64, 65v, 86v, 98-98v, 131-131v, 145, VI: fls. 11, 103v; Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 171-72, 248, 250, 252-53, 279, 287.
12. EFI (1634-36), xi, xvii-xviii, 226; Bal Krishna, Commercial Relations between India and England, 1601-1757, 65, 83.
13. AHU: India, Caixa 13, doc. 15 (8.i.1638); TdT: DRI.37, 429; DRI.38, 74-75; Bal Krishna, op. cit., 65-66, 68, 74, 234.
14. Danvers, PI, II, 329-334.
15. Ibid., 331-32: Clauses XI and XII.
16. AR, II, 530-36; Baldanha, Resumo da Historia de Goa, 293-303; Khan, S.A., Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations Relating to Bombay, 442 ff.; David, M.D., History of Bombay, 1661-1708, 30 ff.; Prestage, The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal, 156-62.

17. HAG: Moncoes 42, fls. 136-200; AHU: India, Caixa 28, doc. 79; Caixa 39, doc. 34; Pissurlencar, op. cit., IV, 280-88; Boxer, op. cit., 272-73; Baiao, A Inquisicao de Goa, I, 408.

18. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 245, 247, 283, 320-23; EFI (1670-77),x; Danvers, op. cit., 360-61.

19. HAG: Moncoes 47, fl. 246; Pissurlencar, op. cit., 245, 320-23, 390-92, 404-05; Danvers, op. cit., 362.

20. David, op. cit., 181 ff.

21. Moreland, op. cit., 98 ff., 108; Bal Krishna, op. cit., 86.

22. Moreland, op. cit., 39-40.

23. HAG: MS 1501 (Ordens Regias), fls. 10-11.

24. Boxer, DSE, 312-13; Meilink-Roelofsz, op. cit., 177 ff.; Harrison, op. cit., 660; Boxer, PSE, 110-12.

25. Harrison, "International Rivalries Outside Europe: Asia and Africa", NCMH, III, Cambridge, 1968: 556-58.

26. For references to the abuses of the fort captains, Cf. AR, I, docs. 13, 41, 60, 61, 69, 105, 106, 112, 131-34, 149-51, 187, 204, 206, 211, 224, 251, 259, 322, 340, 348, 351, 354, 459, 469, 520, 527, 544; APO-CR, V, docs. 2,3, 6, 168, 355, 515, 688, 732, 828, 940. On trade with Japan, Macao and Manilla: Boxer, The Great Ship from Amacon, 173-333; Fidalgos in the Far East, 4-8, 15-16; HAG: ACF, IV: fls. 95v-108; V: fls. 24-25, 53, 206-207, 217v-18; VI: fls. 6v.; Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 204-27; APO-BP, Bk. IV, Vol. II, P. 1: 285-87; TdT; DRI.38, fls. 468v-471v; AHU: India, Caixa 20, doc. 53 (14.x.1648), Caixa 22, doc. 54 (5.xi.1653).

27. Harrison, "Europe and Asia", 665; Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 117 ff. The Carreira da India was the round voyage between Portugal and India. Cf. Boxer, PSE, 207-22; "The Carreira da India (Ships, men, cargoes, voyages)" apud Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos e as Comemoracoes Henriquinas, 33-82.

28. Pissurlencar, ACE, III, 27.

29. HAG: ACF, IX (1653-60), fls. 6v-7, 61, 77v, 77v, 160v-62, 247v-48v, 250v-51; X (1660-66), fls. 9-9v, 33v-34, 49v, 55, 256-67; Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 353. The bullion that arrived in the northern ports was transferred to Goa with the help of the Gujarati merchants who charged 3 % transference duty.

30. Boxer, "Portuguese and Dutch colonial rivalry, 1641-1661", 16-22; Prestage, op. cit., 173 ff.

31. Boxer, The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654, 176 ff., 191 ff., 220-21, 224-25, 228-39; Boxer, PSE, 114-15.

32. Danvers, op. cit., 300; Meilink-Roelofsz, op. cit., 164, 207.

33. Livermore, op. cit., 176-84; Boxer, PSE, 115.

34. Poonen, A Survey of the Dutch Power in Malabar, 91-113; EFI (1655-60), 45, 54-5, 83, 90; Queiroz, Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylao, 806-14; Balsemao, PO, II, 44 ff.

35. Boxer, "Portuguese and Dutch colonial rivalry, 1641-1661", 41-2; Queiroz, op. cit., 699, 965-993, passim.

36. Boxer, op. cit., 13 ff.

37. Couto, Decadas da Asia, Bk. V, P.1, 278 ff.

38. Pissurlencar, "Colaboradores Hindus de Afonso de Albuquerque", 22-42; Braganca Pereira, "Historia Administrativa da India Portuguesa", OP, nn. 15-17, Bastora, 1937: 124-28.

39. Bulhao Pato (ed.), DRI, I, 144: In an instruction dated 10.x. 1607 the King of Portugal wrote to the viceroy of India: "It is convenient for the well being of our State that the neighbouring rulers be divided among themselves and that should be achieved subtly by employing all possible means." This was the kind of the strategy of intrigues by which the Portuguese wished to survive after their military might alone was no longer sufficient.

40. Wicki, DI, XII, 379, 475, 625, 660.

41. Couto, Dec. IX, cap. 13, 82-84.

42. Maclagan, The Jesuits and the Great Mogul, 36, 48, 56, 82.; Camps, Jerome Xavier S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire, 4-5.

43. Pyrard, Viagem, II, 183-87; De Souza, T.R., "Goa-based Portu- Seaborne Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century", 439; Pearson, Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century, 97.

44. AHU: India, Caixa 2, doc. 71 (20.xii.1612): Two ships left for Portugal with nearly 120 quintals of indigo @ 57 xerafins a quintal. This load indicates a sizable decline in comparison with the load of 809 quintals (of 120 lbs. each) taken in 1603. Cf. Moreland, op. cit., 93.

45. APO-CR, I, P.2: 172.

46. Bocarro, Dec. XIII, P.1: 189-92.

47. AHU: India, Caixa 2, doc. 145 (25.xii.1614): "Achei este Estado miseravel e sem rendimento das alfandegas por causa do Mogor tolher o comercio de Cambaia e outras guerras do Norte". Cf. Another report on the Gujarat trade and how it was affected with the war against the Mughal: AHU, India, Caixa 3, doc. 46 (5.ii. 1615): Cottons, indigo and opium are indicated as the chief items of this trade.

48. HAG: Moncoes 14, fls. 363-64; Biker, CT, I, 237; Pissurlencar, ACE, I, 291 ff.

49. Moreland, op. cit., 35-7; Foster, W., Early Travels in India, 65-6; Roe, Embassy to the Court of the Great Mogul, passim.

50. Maclagan, op. cit., 99-105; Campos, History of the Portuguese in Bengal, 128-40; Pissurlencar, op. cit., 462-69; Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, 421.

51. AHU: India, Caixa 16, doc. 39 (17.ii.1644).

52. Sarkar, J.N., A Short History of Aurangzib, 156-58; HAG: Moncoes 55B, fls. 424-25: An interesting report of the Portuguese diplomatic game with the Mughal and the Marathas during the closing decade of the seventeenth century.

53. Radhey Shyam, Life and Times of Malik Ambar, 68-98; Nayeem, External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom, 94-5; Tamaskar, "Malik Ambar and the Portuguese", 39 ff.

54. Nayeem, op. cit., 94-5; Bocarro, op. cit., 17-24, 48-77, 85-92, 106-112, 218-222, 251-59, 266-72, 281-91, 303-308, 340-41; Joshi, P.M.(ed.), HMD, I, 265-66.

55. Radhey Shyam, op. cit., 125-26.

56. Nayeem, op. cit., 95-6; Pissurlencar, "A India em 1629", in BIVG, n.7, 1930: 52-61: Is the text of a report sent to Portugal by the viceroy Count of Linhares on January 6, 1631, describing the state of political affairs in India.

57. Pissurlencar, "A Extincao do Reino de Nizam Shahi", in BIVG, n. 27, 1935: 122-3; ACE, II, 113-15.

58. HAG: Moncoes 21A, fl. 54; Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 257.

59. Villiers, The Indian Ocean, 158: Refers to Roe's maxim in his negotiations in the East: "Trade that comes by compulsion is not profitable and only arouses the hate and opposition of the natives".

60. TdT: DRI.37, fls. 485-85v; Pissurlencar, ACE, I, 237.

61. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 238 ff.

62. Loc. cit.

63. Ibid., 414-16.

64. Loc. cit.

65. Nayeem, op. cit., 240-41, 252-53; Joshi, op. cit., 369-70.

66. Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 313, 318.

67. HAG: MS 7701 (Registos Gerais do Senado), fls. 239-39v; ARSJ: Goa 34, II, fls. 305-396; De Souza, T.R., "Matheus de Castro Mahale: An Unsung Hero", Goa Today (January, 1975), 18, 28; Metzler, "Der Brahmenenspiegel des Matheus de Castro", in NZMW, n.4 (Schweiz, 1967), 252-65.

68. Heras, "Some Unknown Dealings between Bijapur and Goa", Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission (Lahore, 1925)

Pissurlencar, ACE, III, 366-67, 371-6, 382-3; Biker, CT, II, 232-9.

69. Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 140, 491-2.

70. APO-BP, Bk. IV, Vol. II, P.1: 289; Crooke (ed.), Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, II, 41-62; Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 297-8.

71. HAG: Moncoes 14, fl. 207v; Moncoes 19A, fl. 128; Pissurlencar, ACE, I, 117-9, 179.

72. HAG: MS 2596 (Cartas e Ordens da Fazenda), fls. 82v-83v; APO-CR, V, 825-31.

73. Cf. supra n. 38.

74. Silva Rego (ed.), DUP, III, 295-353; Azevedo, Epocas de Portugal Economico, 89-164; Godinho, Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial, II, 48 ff. All these works study Portuguese pepper trade in India, including Kanara. For rice supplies, Cf. Queiroz, Historia da vida do veneravel Irmao Pedro de Basto, 279 Pissurlencar, ACE, I, 257, 426, 567-71; II, 12-3; III, 396-8; IV, 10-2, 32-3, 278-9.

75. Pissurlencar, ACE, I, 537, 570; HAG: Moncoes 13A, fls. 263-66; AHU: India, Caixa 31, doc. 21.

76. BG, XV, P.2: 110, 114; Felner, Subsidios, 246-8.

77. Bulhao Pato, DRI, II, docs.232, 303, 331; III, docs. 517.

78. TdT: DRI.38, fl. 292; Wheeler, European Travellers in India, 19.

79. Pissurlencar, ACE, I, 536-41 (includes Kanada text).

80. Ibid., 252.

81. Ibid., 569; HAG: Ordens Regias, n.2, fl. 20.

82. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 570. The equivalence between Ikkeri gold currency and Goan gold currency is given as 100 pagodas= 102 santhomes.

83. Ibid., II, 12-3, 55-6.

84. Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 203.

85. Heras, "The Decay of the Portuguese Power in India", in JBBS, I, 1928: 36. Refers to the wars of expansion of the Nayaks as an important external cause of the Portuguese decline. Cf. Pissurlencar, op. cit., III, passim.

86. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 219-21, 319-24.

87. HAG: ACF, IX (1653-60), fls. 99v, 146v, 175-75v, 186, 194-94v.

88. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 356-60.

89. Ibid., 396-8.

90. Biker, CT, IV, 189-97; Pissrlencar, ACE, IV, 216-7.

91. HAG: Moncoes 31, fls. 78-9v, 80-1v, 106-107, 128-9.

92. EFI (1661-64), 343 n.3; Pissurlencar, op. cit., 226-7.

93. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 278-9.

94. Biker, CT, IV, 205-15, cl. 5.

95. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 486-99.

96. Deleury, The Cult of Vithoba, 1-21.

97. Silva Rego, DMP, IX, 475-6: The quotation reads: "... zari upazoni sansarim ekavella dekasi pandhari Vithala rayachi nagari".

98. Pissurlencar, "O Elemento Hindu da Casta Chardo", OP, nn. 12, 13 (1936): 203-32; Braganca Pereira, "Os Ranes, os quetris, os oixos, os chardos, e os bramanes de Goa", OP, nn.7-8 (1919): 230-36.

99. Valavlikar, V., Goemkaranchi Goeambhaili Vasanuka, 46.

100. Pissurlencar, Goa Pre-Portuguesa atraves dos Escritores Lusitanos, 49; "Inscricoes Pre-Portuguesas de Goa", OP, n. 22 (1938): 441-7, 451-5; Gune, V.T., "Meaning of Maratha Mouni", apud Proceedings of the Maratha History Seminar, 1970, 1-5.

101. Ghantkar, An Introduction to Goan Marathi Records in Halakannada Script, 1-2.

102. Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 113-5; "A Extincao do Reino de Nizam Shah", BIVG, n. 27 (1935): 122-3.

103. Pissurlencar, Portuguez-Marathe Sambandh, 41.

104. Pagadi, Chhatrapati Shivaji, 83-4, 87-8, 104-7, 129; Sarkar, Shivaji and his Times, 54-8, 351-2.

105. Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 5-6.

106. Apte, A History of the Maratha Navy and Merchantships, 71.

107. AHU: India, Caixa 27, doc. 87.

108. AHU: India, Caixa 27, doc. 99; Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 5, 6-8, 214-5, 225-6.

109. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 50, 188-91, 242; Portuguez-Marathe Sambandh, 35-6.

110. Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 146; Manucci, op. cit., II, 120-5, 132-137.

111. Pagadi, op. cit., 194-6; Sarkar, op. cit., 352.

112. Pissurlencar, Portuguez-Marathe Sambadh, 190 n. 1.

113. Sen, Military System of the Marathas, 28-53; Kulkarni, Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji, 131-2; Saletore, "The Significance of Chautai in Maratha History", JUB, VII, P.1, 94-107.

114. AHU: India, Caixa 30, doc. 47.

115. HAG: Moncoes 47, letter n.4; Pissurlencar, The Portuguese and the Marathas, 64.

116. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, V, 116.

117. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 126-7.

118. Ibid., 159, 163.

119. Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 296-7; Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, IV, 347-9.

120. Kulkarni, op. cit., 223; HAG: MS 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda), I, fls. 49-51.

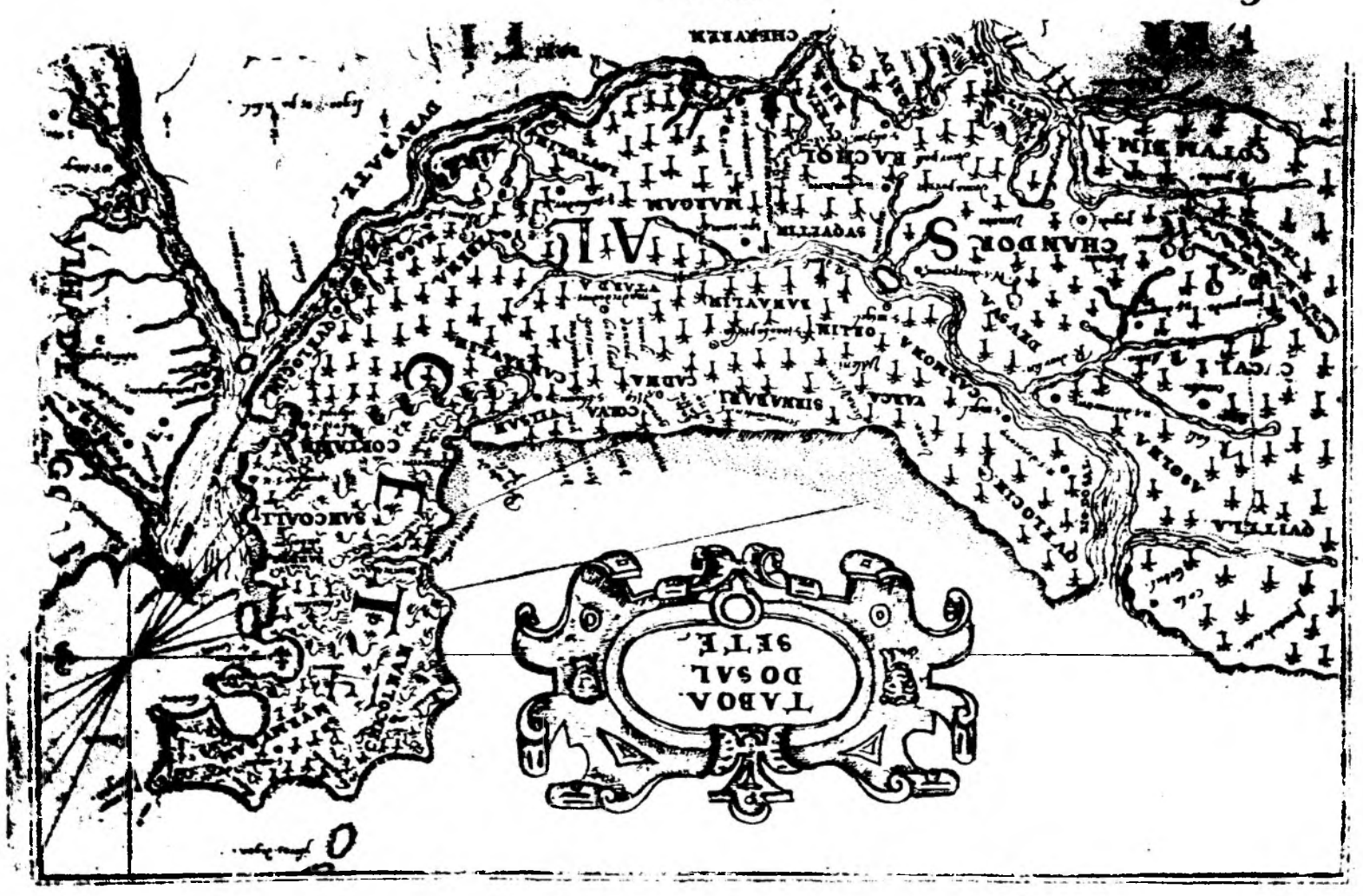
121. HAG: MS 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda), fls. 9, 21v-22.

122. HAG: MS 970 (Reis Vizinhos, n.2), fls. 36v-7, 73v-77; MS. 971 (Reis Vizinhos, n.3), fls. 8v-11v, 12v-14v, 29-29v; MS 972 (Reis Vizinhos, n.4), fls. 12, 29v.

123. Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 296-7.

124. Silva Rego, DUP, IV, 34-5.

125. Pissurlencar, The Portuguese and the Marathas,23; HAG: MS 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda), fls. 146v-147: Refers to Sambhajis' invasion of Salcete and capture of salt-laden boats and documents connected with salt administration. Ibid., fls. 154-54v: Is an application of the salt-revenue farmer of Bardez complaining that he cannot continue with his obligations because within nineteen days from his taking up the contract the trade with the mainland had become paralyzed. He indicates May 5 as the date when the hostilities started and December 8 as the day of invasion by Sambhaji's forces. Ibid., fls223-223v: An application of the General Assembly of the village communities of Bardez requesting postponement of the time limit for the payment of the land revenue. They say that the villages were depopulated and the peasants were without seed and oxen for ploughs. Cf. also Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 571-4: Refers to the disruption of the inland trade of Goa as a result of the hostilities mounted by Sambhaji and the consequent scarcity and dearness of food provisions in Goa.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CHAPTER THREE

GOAN RURAL HERITAGE

Land, Resources and People

The 'Old Conquests' region of Goa consists of three provinces, namely Bardez, Tisvadi and Salcete, and it lies almost at the centre of the west coast of India c. 250 miles SSE of Bombay. The three provinces are divided and separated from each other by rivers descending from the western Ghats. Thus, Bardez has Chapora river to its north and Mandovi river to its south; Tisvadi is an agglomeration of islands formed by the turnings of the Mandovi and Zuari rivers; and Salcete is separated from Tisvadi by Mandovi river and from its neighbouring eastern and southern regions by Sal river.

The entire region has a narrow littoral strip bathed by the Indian Ocean. The eastern side of the region is barred by a mountainous range covered with sufficiently thick forest. The lush greenery all over presents a fine contrast against the red of the laterite soil, and the idyllic impression is further enhanced by the silvery ribbons of the rivers and rivulets with their serpentine windings.

The three provinces of Bardez, Tisvadi and Salcete occupy an average land mass of 264 sq. kms., 166 sq. kms., and 355 sq. kms. respectively. The names of the three provinces are obviously derived from the number of the original settlements in each of them. Thus, Bardez derives from Bara + desa, meaning

twelve regions; Tisvadi derives from Tis + vadi, meaning thirty setthements; and Salcete is a corruption of Sasashta or sixty-six (settlements). The earliest reference to these province names occurs in a Sanskrit copper plate grant inscription issued by Madhava Mantri, Vijayanagara governor of Goa, around 1391 A.D.[1]

The climate of the region is of monsoon type characterized by sultry weather and by a long rainy season followed by a long spell of heat. The temperature varies between 16.3° C and 36.2° C, these two extremes being experienced in the months of December and February respectively.[2]

Paddy cultivation constitutes the main occupation of the rural population, and the chief paddy crop known as sorod depends upon the heavy monsoon rainfall in the months of June, July and August. The serpentine river net and the seasonal lakes enable several villages to raise a second crop known as vaingan during the months of December-April. Wherethe vaingan crop is not feasible, generally beans of various kinds are grown, as well as several other kinds of vegetables.

The sandy soil of the areas lying along the extensive seashore is responsible for the poor yield in those villages that lie in the coastal region. But this deficiency is compensated manifold by the palm groves sprawling all over the seaside area. Besides, the fishing occupation constituted a compensating substitute to the better rice production in the hinterland. In this connection one can appreciate the hypothesis of the late Prof.

D.D.Kosambi regarding the origin of the settlement of the west coast. According to him, only the existence of coconut trees could have made that settlement possible.[3] During the seventeenth century the rural population of Goa depended to a very large extent upon palm and palm products to satisfy many of their needs connected with habitation and food, including their need of expressing their joy and of drowning their sorrow. The only home grown export commodities which paid in part for a variety of goods that needed to be imported were copra, salted fish and salt.[4]

A study of the natural resources of Goa cannot help referring to the sufficiency of pasture for the animals that gave to the territory its name Gomant and to its people milk for drink, cow-dung for house cleanliness, urine for sacred ablutions, and backs for plough, yoke and packs. The conversion to Christianity and the consequent dietary changes made of beef an important diet ingredient. For the Hindus it continued to be an assurance of ultimate bliss to die holding on to the tail of a sacred cow.[5]

Details regarding the population figures are sparse and inexact. We are relatively fortunate to have such data for the areas where the Jesuits exercised their missionary activities and recorded these in their regular reports sent to Europe. A conservative estimate based on such information would give population figures for Tisvadi and Salcete during the seventeenth century as 30,000 and 80,000 respectively.[6] The limited information from the Franciscan sources suggests that the population of

Bardez did not depart very much from the pattern of density in the other two provinces. There must have been about 70,000 inhabitants in that province during the seventeenth century.[7] The population growth could not have made any significant difference , because during that century the region was plagued by wars and famines, which must have heightened the otherwise high rate of mortality. This situation was particularly true of Bardez and Salcete which were more exposed to invasions and were more easily affected by disturbances of trade contacts with the hinterland. The great famine of 1630-1, the invasions of Bardez and Salcete by the forces of Adil Shah in 1654-9, the invasion of Bardez by Shivaji in 1667, and a renewed Maratha attack against the entire Goan territory in 1683, were some of the major disasters which could not leave the population and economy of the region unaffected. Fresh demands for war contributions, religious fanaticism of the Inquisition aimed at the Hindus, as well as at the poorly catechized native Christians, and constant threats of invasions were further responsible for the reduction of the population by way of large scale migrations. While most of the emigrants moved towards Kanara where rice was more cheaply available, there were bolder spirits who sought their fortune in distant places, including the gold mines of Mosambique.[8] It was the beginning of a tradition which has made of the Goans eternal pilgrims.

Those who continued stuck to the land could not have had much incentive for any improvement in their standard of living

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owing to stagnant technology and increasing burdens upon a stable productivity. In such conditions the growth of population meant an increase of consumers. Even though agriculture is labour-intensive occupation and the population growth could be an important source of production increase, the prevailing system of land tenure was not directed towards the expansion of settlement, cultivation and production. The arrival of the Portuguese surely provided new avenues of employment, but these sought more the artisan class than the landed gentry which had more to lose than to gain with the new situation.

Origin and Distribution of the Village Communities

The efforts of the early sixteenth century Portuguese officials and chroniclers did not lead them beyond the mist of tradition in their attempts to trace the origin of the Goan village communities. Affonso Mexia who codified the customary legislation of the village communities in 1526 could only ascertain from the learned natives that in remote times four men had cleared the island of Tisvadi and brought it under cultivation. Mexia had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to discover anything more about the origin of the village communities.[9]

The Portuguese chronicler Barros traced the origin of the Goan village settlers to some poor immigrants from Kanara who descended the Ghats and reclaimed the land for cultivation. And when the soil had been made productive and the population had

grown sizably, the territory was overrun by a ruler of Kanara, who left the people to cultivate their lands in peace, but only after they had agreed to pay him a fixed annual rental per village on the basis of joint responsibility of all the original settler-families of each village.[10]

There is one curious attempt made by a noted Jesuit in mid-seventeenth century (1641) to explain the origin and nature of the Goan village communities. Alfonso Mendes,S.J. traced the origin of the settlement of Goan villages to some time around eighth century A.D. basing his calculations upon a copper plate grant inscription issued by the Kadamba king Jayakesi II (sic) in 1099. Reading in it that there had been nine rulers before the grantor-ruler and that their rule must have covered a span of nearly 200 years, our Jesuit investigator placed the rule of the first ruler of Goa around 899 A.D. In order to arrive at the final conclusion he deducted another 100 years, which he assumed, must have been necessary for settlement and cultivation.[11]

The calculation of Alfonso Mendes, S.J. was based on the assumption that the tradition of Barros was fully reliable, and for that reason he did not think of the possibility of any other prior dynasty of non-Kanarese kings ruling in Goa. The discovery of a statue of Buddha at Colvale (Bardez) by Rev. Heras,S.J. and the results of the limited excavations conducted recently by the Archaeological Survey of India at Kotta, which was once the capital of the Goa Kadambas, have left us with no

doubts about the existence of an organized society in Goa already in the early centuries of the Christian era.[12]

A number of theories have also been proposed to determine the ethnic origin of the first settlers. The Pauranic tradition recorded in the Sahyadri-khanda of the Skanda-purana refers to Sarasvat Brahmins migrating from Bengal-Bihar region to Goa c. fourth century A.D. at the invitation of the Kadamba king Mayuravarma in order to support his throne.[13] The late Prof. Kosambi has upheld this tradition with arguments drawn from religion, linguistics and ethnology.[14] According to another view propounded by Prof. G.M.Moraes, the Senvi Sarasvat Brahmins of Goa must have migrated from the Kutch-Saurastra region some time around eighth century A.D., probably under the pressure of the early Arab invasions of that area.[15] Prof. P.S.S.Pissurlencar had tried to reconcile the tradition recorded by the chronicler Barros with the tradition recorded in Sahyadri-khanda and Konkanakhyana. He visualized the possibility of an earlier migration of the labouring classes, possibly of South Indian origin, and a later migration of the Sarasvat Brahmins who then established themselves as administrators.[16]

It is true that the village community set-up as it was found on the arrival of the Portuguese was controlled by the Brahminical exegesis of Dharma-sastras and Smritis.[17] The immigration of the Goan Brahmins from somewhere in northern India is corroborated by the peculiar nature of the Goan village communities, because these bore similarity to those in the north

and differed from those in Central and Peninsular India. The Goan village communities belonged to the joint village type, as distinguished from the severalty type, in which the entire village owned the lands, arable and waste, in common and acted as unit of land revenue. If joint villages originated, according to the opinion of B.H.Baden-Powell, by acquiring lordship over earlier settlers, then it becomes easy to explain the fact of non-Brahmins continuing in the Goan village communities as their effective members-administrators.[18] Apparently the immigrant Brahmins failed to displace the earlier settlers entirely, and this could be due to the limited number of the Brahmins. The migrations of the Brahmins must have also happened in successive waves and at pretty long intervals. This can be inferred from the observation of significant differences among the Sarasvat of the three provinces. In Salcete, with the exception of the Senvi Brahmins of Cortalim and Quelossim, who are Smartas or disciples of Sankaracarya, the other Brahmins of Salcete are Vaisnavas. To this latter group belong also the Bardezkar Brahmins, but their deities are more akin in their designations to the ksatrya deities of the non-vedic type. Besides, the Sastikar Brahmins tended to look down upon the Bardezkar Brahmins, because the latter had the habit of eating in the fields without performing the required pre-meal rituals. Until very recently intermarriage among the Sastikars and Bardezkars was unheard of.[19]

It is likely that the Brahmin immigrants achieved predominance through the good will of the local rulers, as well as by

their superior education and skill to tackle the rulers, the latter reason explaining the control of the Brahmins at the desa or province level. Each desa had a General Assembly (Camara Geral) of the village communities consisting of the representative desays or chief elders of certain villages of each province. Thus, there were nine chief villages in Bardez, eight in Tisvadi and twelve in Salcete, each of which was entitled to send one or two representatives depending upon the usage.[20] In this total of twenty-nine chief villages, there were seventeen consisting exclusively of Brahmins, and these along with the other chief villages represented 135 villages among which there were only thirty-six exclusively Brahmin-controlled.[21]

Representation at the desa level

Village Control	Bardez		Salcete		Tisvadi	
	v	d	v	d	v	d
1. Brahmin Control	10	5	15	8	11	4
2. Mixed Control	3	2	2	1	2	0
3. Non-Brahmin Control	21	2	42	3	24	4
Total of Villages	39	9	59	12	37	8

v= village d= desa

It must be noted that even though the villages controlled exclusively by the Brahmins are comparatively few they are all

the most fertile areas of Goa and all of them lie along the upper courses of rivers. Such choice was possible only to the favourites of the rulers or to the ministers of religion who could play with the superstitious nature of the people.

Codification of the Rural Customs and Usages

Afonso de Albuquerque was not just a conqueror. He had displayed also the other qualities necessary in an empire builder. In order to conquer Goa and retain it, he sought the good will and cooperation of the majority of the local Hindu population by presenting himself as their deliverer from the oppression of their Muhammadan overlords. Following the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque exterminated the Muslim inhabitants of the city and confiscated the lands that had belonged to them. But he left the Hindus undisturbed in possession of their lands, remitted one-third of their land-revenue payable to the State, and appointed some prominent Hindu leaders to collect the revenues and to exercise justice among the local people in accordance with their customs.[22]

It is obvious, however, from the letters of Albuquerque that he was not moved by purely altruistic motives of pleasing and helping the natives. He required their military assistance against the continuing threats of the Muslims returning, and besides, he had no other way of knowing the dues payable by them to the State. It may be noted in this connection that even after taking the natives in confidence, they had been withholding such information. A type of revenue known as Coxivarado, which amounted to an addi-

tional one-fourth of the regular land-revenue, did not come to the knowledge of the Portuguese, and naturally was not paid to them until thirty years after the conquest of Goa.[23]

True feelings of Albuquerque about the natives can be construed from the tone of a letter addressed by him to the king of Portugal on April 1, 1512. It makes it very clear that he would not care a hoot if, as a result of his pet-scheme of colonization through mixed marriages, the native inhabitants were dispossessed of their lands. He wrote: "If the Portuguese continue to marry and settle down at the present rate, it looks to me that Your Highness may have to drive out the natives of this island and transfer their lands to the Portuguese settlers. These lands are nobody's exclusive patrimony, but they all belong to the king and lord of the land."[24]

The scanty documentation at hand does not enable us to say much about the treatment meted out to the Goan village communities during the first few decades of the Portuguese administration. But the efforts at codifying the local customs and usages in the form of a Charter (Foral) and some other instances indicate that the Portuguese administration was feeling its way. It was an uneasy task for the Government to satisfy its own colonial interests without unduly upsetting the local inhabitants. Here follow two instances to illustrate the situation.

Firstly, a proclamation was issued by king Emmanuel of Portugal on March 15, 1518, stating that all lands in the island of Goa were to be distributed among the Portuguese settlers, except-

ing the lands which might have belonged to native Christians prior to the conquest of Goa![25] This could be explained as a move to treat the Goans as vanquished foes, or as due to ignorance of the situation on the part of the king, or due to misrepresentations on the part of the interested parties. It is also possible that all these factors were jointly responsible. We do not know what was the reaction of the natives, but we can guess that it must have been sharp, because the king issued a new proclamation a year later revising the earlier stand and declaring that only the lands that had belonged to the Muslims would be given to the Portuguese settlers and that none of the lands which had always belonged to the Canarins (meaning the native landowners) would be taken away from them.[26]

The second instance is contained in a letter of the king of Portugal to the Portuguese settlers at Goa. It was a reply to certain complaints of the Portuguese city-dwellers. The king replied: "You have written to me about an order issued by Afonso Mexia and confirmed by the Chief Captain and Governor Lope Vas to the effect that no Portuguese city-dweller may buy any lands or palm groves that belong to any non-Christian inhabitant of the island, even if such properties are said to be belonging to the Crown. Your request is that I should not object to anyone selling what is his, or to anyone buying what is sold in this manner, provided the State receives its dues. I have no other information than what you have written to me. I am writing to Nuno da Cunha, my Chief Captain and Governor to inform me

about the motives behind the order against which you have complained."[27] The same letter said little further: " I agree with your saying that you would benefit immensely with the acquisition of some forest lands which you have mentioned. You also write that the native landowners of the villages concerned have objected to your wishes. I wish to have more information regarding this matter before giving you any definite answer."[28]

In order to solve the administrative problems arising from the ignorance of the local tradition on the part of the Portuguese, the chief revenue superintendent Afonso Mexia undertook the task of codifying the customary law prevailing in Goan villages. As a result the Charter of Local Usages was issued on September 16, 1526. The information was gathered from the learned Brahmins of the Goa island, as well as from the natives of the mainland provinces of Bardez and Salcete to which the Charter was made applicable after they came definitely under Portuguese jurisdiction in 1543.[29]

The Charter, consisting of forty-nine clauses, enumerates the village functionaries and their functions, lays down the rules of succession and repayment of debts, clarifies the property relations of the village inhabitants among themselves and in relation with the State, and notes down some traditional practices in favour of certain individuals, groups and villages. This Charter is the earliest detailed description left by an European of the village communities in India.

Leaving most of the minor details to be clarified in the two following chapters of the present monograph, we shall presently concentrate only on what the Charter had to say about the property relations in the Goan villages and about the nature of their representation in the organization of the village communities. In this connection we wish to clarify certain concepts which have not been properly explained in many of the studies that have treated Goan village communities.

The village administration was entirely in the hands of a village council or ganvkari, which was made up of the representatives of the vangad or clans that claimed to descend from the first settlers of the village. Every male member of such a vangad became a ganvkar on attaining a certain age, say between twelve and eighteen in most of the villages. Though the presence of all the ganvkars was not required for the quorum of the village council meetings, every ganvkar could, if he wished, attend the meetings, express his opinion and block the proceedings with his single naka, which was the way of expressing a veto.[30]

We wish to recall in this connection a theory expounded by H.S.Maine regarding the evolution of the Indian village communities. It was held by him that "in those parts of India in which the village community was most perfect the authority exercised by the headman was lodged with the village council."[31] Maine's contentions were branded as unwarranted generalizations by A.S. Altekar, who wrote his History of the Village Communities in Western India with an ostensive purpose of revealing the regional

peculiarities of the village communities in Western India. However, by stating categorically that Maine's theory was without foundation at least where Western India was concerned, Altekar appears to have fallen prey to the generalizing tendency which he wished to exorcise.[32] The situation that prevailed in Goa seemed to disprove the universality of Altekar's counterstatement. In Goa we do not find headmen as executive heads of the village communities, though we come across historians who have understood the situation that way.[33] What we do observe in Goa is some kind of gradation among the various constituent vangads of a village, a gradation which probably originated with the importance of the contribution of each vangad towards the development of the village during the first years of settlement. The most respected elder or elders of each vangad attended the village council meetings, but the representative elder of the first ranking vangad (or vangads, if two were placed as equals in the first rank) was regarded as chief ganvkar and was granted certain social privileges which are mentioned in the Charter. Thus, when at the approach of the rainy season the houses had to be covered with palm leaves to protect the mud walls against the lashing rains, it was the chief ganvkar's privilege to begin work on his house first.[34] Also, at any festive gathering the chief elder was the first to be honourd with betel and garlanded with a strip of white cloth called pachodi; at seed-time and at harvest, the first field to be taken in hand was that of the chief ganvkar; the dancing girls

had to perform first before the house of the chief ganvkar, and then before the others.[35] Beyond such privileges there were no special powers that a chief gankar enjoyed. The administration was conducted with nem or unanimous decisions of the entire village council. The execution was entrusted to some hereditary officials, whose functions are described at length in the next chapter.

It is obvious from the above that the ganvkars alone had a say in the decision-making. However, as exceptions to the rule, some non-ganvkars were in some villages given right to express their opinion during the village council meetings, but they had no right to vote. These non-ganvkars belonged to the categories of kulacari and vantely. The kulacari were like the upri tenants-at-will of Maharashtra, but the designation also included the village servants whose non-agricultural services were required for the self-sufficiency of the village and were compensated with rent-free grants of land. A vantely was an outsider to the village, but was associated with the ganvkars because of his skill, say in building or repairing clay levies. As a payment of his services he received a land grant or a share in the annual profit of the village. There are even cases of vantely being awarded the rights of full ganvkars, as in the village of Calangute in Bardez and in the village of Raya in Salcete.[36]

The right of the ganvkars-in-council to make grants of land freely is already an indicator of their joint ownership of the

village lands. This joint ownership and community interests were also safeguarded by the Charter which enabled the village community to prevent any unwanted outsider from acquiring property in the village. It stated that if a ganvkar or some other person wished to sell his property in the village, such a sale would not be effective without a prior consent of the village assembly and without respecting its right of pre-emption.[37]

The joint ownership of the village community was most manifest in the distribution of the paddy fields which in the ancient times of early settlement the entire community had laboured together to bring under cultivation. Altekar presents the khoti system of joint ownership of land as an exception to the rule in western India. This system prevailed in the Konkan regions of Naharashtra and consisted in farming out lands for the purpose of revenue collection.[38] We must accept that khoti prevailed also in Goa but to a limited extent and for quite a different reason. Only the khazan or reclaimed lands were farmed out to a khot, who was generally one of the ganvkars, and the main purpose was to ensure cooperative labour to maintain the clay levies and the sluice gates which protected the lands reclaimed from rivers or sea. The khot would sublet land parcels to individual cultivators, who formed an association called bhaus. Every member of this association was required by its superintendent (called kamat) to contribute with free labour whenever necessary for the protection of the khazan lands.[39]

Most of the other lands of the village which were not khazan

lands did not come under khoti and were auctioned triennially directly to the cultivators. This system of auctioning to the highest bidding ganvkars, and sometimes to outsiders as well, provided the latter could find a ganvkar to bid for them and to stand as surety for them, was an expression of joint ownership which did not allow any individual ganvkar to keep any definite lands for an indefinite period. In this connection we are led again to question the assertion of Altekar that "the communal ownership of lands had never existed in India." [40] We are told in a recent study on the "Disintegration of the Village Communities in India" that cases of communal ownership were observed in Tanjavur, Mysore and Carnatic. But the author explains these instances as characteristic of the villages called agrahrah vadiky, which were originally grants of kings to Brahmins.[41] In Goa, however, the system was universal and embraced even the village communities which were controlled exclusively by non-Brahmin ganvkars.

Defining further the proprietory rights and their representation in the village communities the Charter ensured their permanency and exclusivism. It is important to stress this point because it was on this issue that the village communities found themselves very soon confronting new economic interests that were bent on destroying the traditional set-up that was unfavourable to them. The Charter determined that if the ganvkars of a village were unable to pay their revenue to the State, only the exercise of their rights as ganvkars were to be suspended until they showed

readiness to resume their obligation of payment.[42] However, in case of an individual ganvkar absconding because of unwillingness to pay or inability to pay, a time was fixed for his return. If he failed to turn up, his heirs were given an opportunity to assume the ownership and the obligations annexed to the property; if they declined, the village assembly could bestow it on whomsoever it chose, provided he was ready to pay the tax and the arrears.[43] Hence, while in case of a village there was the possibility of its being entrusted entirely to outsiders for effective administration, the danger of alienation was more remote in case of individual ganvkars. Only in some cases of certain villages a stricter rule was applied and the movable property of the absconding ganvkar was straightaway confiscated by the State, while the immovable property was auctioned to the highest bidder from among those entitled to it and the proceeds were forwarded to the Crown.[44]

The Charter also established in favour of the ganvkars that their rights and privileges could be passed on only through direct male heirs. The same applied also for the transmission of property: Women were categorically denied inheritance.[45] The dignity of the ganvkars was further protected by that clause of the Charter which stated that ganvkars could not be deprived of their rights despite any sort of misconduct on their part. Even if a ganvkar deserved punishment, he was to be punished bodily or on his possessions, but his male heirs would in no way suffer in their rights because of him.[46]

Whatever might have been the regional variations of the proprietory rights and their representation in the village communities of Goa, it is beyond all doubt that the core of the rural heritage as recorded in the Charter was very much steeped in the Hindu Law, and this was particularly true of Goan usages regarding property and inheritance. The stipulations of the Charter in this regard reflected the practices sanctioned by the Mitakshara school of Hindu Law to which the concept of joint family was basic and central.[47]

To conclude, we may note that the Charter compiled by Afonso Mexia was far from being a very comprehensive register of local customs and usages.[48] It was meant as a manual for the administrators, and therefore, it concentrated only on the issues which were raising constant problems to them. And even regarding such issues the information collated by Mexia was defective. Thus, for instance, some natives remonstrated against the Charter in 1534 in connection with its stand regarding the division of property in a polygamous family. The Charter had recorded just one view, but the learned men invited from the mainland expounded two equally observed practices. The Charter was accordingly modified to accomodate both views.[49] This accomodating attitude of the Portuguese, however, did not last long. Not long after the Charter became an obstacle, and its stipulations, chiefly regarding inheritance, were positively disregarded and violated in order to favour conversions to Christianity and colonial interests.[50]

NOTES

1. Pissurlenoar, "Um passo do Cronista Barros elucidado a luz duma insorioao sanscrita", OP, n.18 (1937): 35-45; "Inscricoes pre-portuguesas de Goa", OP, n.22 (1938): 421-41.

2. Almeida, Aspects of the Agricultural Activity in Goa, Daman and Diu, 36.

3. Kosambi, The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline, 189: The propagation of coconut on the west coast is traced back to 2 c. A.D. brought from Malaysia.

4. BHC-JMS, I, 270; Almeida, op. cit., 59, annexure n.7; HAG: Moncoes 54, fls. 50-4.

5. Wheeler (ed.), Early Travels in India, 188, 201; Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, 115.

6. Wicki, DI, IX, 507; Souza, OC, I, 103; ARSJ: Goa 35, fls. 324; all these documents from Jesuit sources give an average of 80,000 as the population of Salcete during the late 16th and throughout the 17th century. The figures for Tisvadi can be considered as merely approximative after excluding the city population: Cf. Wicki, DI, I, 253; IV, 645; V, 229; XI, 363; HAG: Moncoes 26B, fl. 407.

7. Meersman, The Ancient Franciscan Provinces of India, 157: The average of the figures presented here doem not take us beyond 50,000. However, calculating the population on the basis of a tobacco substitute tax collected from Bardes @ one budgrook per household we have nearly 72,500 people paying 14,500 xerafins. A household is taken to consist of five persons. This was in 1664-5. Cf. AHU: India, Caixa 26, doc. 61 (28.i.1664), doc. 137 (5.i.1665).

8. TdT: MS Junta da Fazenda Publica (Estado da India), III, fls. 2-3v; HAG: MS 1172 (ACF, XIV), fl. 265; MS 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda), fl. 138.

9. Baden-Powell, "The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century", JRAS, London, 1900: 263 (Clause 1). This translation of the Charter has been followed in the present Chapter unless otherwise stated.

10. Barros, Decada II, P. 1, Bk. V, Ch. I: 440-1.

11. ARSJ: Goa 22, fls. 59-65v: This report was written in defence of the rights of the Jesuits of the College of St. Paul in the city of Goa over certain village community lands that were granted to them and were being withdrawn. Cf. Moraes, The Kadamba Kula, 166-7: It provides a chronological chart of the Kadamba kings of Goa, and there we find Guhalladeva III ruling during 1080-1100.

12. Heras, "A Newly Discovered Image of Buddha Near Goa", JBHS, 1930: 173-86; "Ancient temple complex found in Chandor", in The Navhind Times, Panaji, 8.iv.1974.

13. Gerson da Cunha (ed.), Sahyadri Khanda , 305, 333.

14. Kosambi, Myth and Reality, 166-8.

15. Moraes, "Dr. Jose Gerson da Cunha, 1844-1900", 26.

16. Pissurlencar, Goa Pre-Portuguesa atraves dos Escritores Lusitanos dos Seculos XVI e XVII, 35-8. Konkanakhyana was compiled in 1721 and it has preserved the traditions current among the Sarasvat Brahmins of Goa.

17. D'Costa, The Christianisation of the Goa Islands, 20.

18. Baden-Powell, The Indian Village Community, 403, 430-4; Srinivas (ed.), India's Villages, 21-2; BHC-JMS, II, passim.

19. Braganca Pereira, Etnografia da India Portuguesa, II, 210-20, 250; SG, III, 34-85; APO-CR, Suppl. 2: 371-82.

20. The chief villages of Tisvadi were: Greater Neura, Gansim, Ela, Azosy, Karbelly, Batim, Kalpur, and Greater Morumby. The chief villages of Bardez were: Sirula, Asaganv, Pomburpa, Calangute, Aldona, Kandoly, Nachinola, Parra, and Salganv. The chief villages of Salcete were: Madganv, Verna, Kurtory, Lotly, Raya, Banavly, Betalbaty, Colva, Kortaly, Kelxy, Nagoa, and Sankval. Cf. BHC, II, 24-5.

21. The exclusively Brahmin-controlled village communities were the following: Greater Neura, Gansim, Ela, Azosy, Sirula, Asaganv, Pomburpa, Nachinola, Salganv, Madganv, Verna, Kurtory, Lotly, Banavly, Kelxy, Nagoa, and Sankval, all these from among the chief villages.

22. Barros, Decada II, P.1: 472, 483, 546; Braganca Pereira, "Historia Administrativa da India Portugesa", OP, nn. 15-7, 1937: 87-90, 124-7.

23. APO-CR, V, 962-3: Coxivarado is described in this document as voluntary contribution and most of the writers who have dealt with the history of the revenue administration of Goa have interpreted it that way. They have derived the term from khushi, meaning wish in Konkani language, plus vrat designating contribution. This explanation, however, sounds too simplistic. The term stands most likely for kusavrti or tax on grasslands or forestlands. It could also be taken to mean the chief source of income for the Kusa or Public Treasury.

24. Baiao (ed.), Afonso de Albuquerque: Cartas para el-rei D. Manuel I, 74.

25. Gabinete Litterario, II, 94-7.

26. Ibid., 97-8.

27. APO-CR, I, P.1: 14-5.

28. Loc. cit.

29. HAG: MS 8791 (Livro Vermelho), fls. 147 ff. contain the most

correct version of the Charter. It was edited in APO-CR, V, doc. 59, and also in BIVG, n.59, 1944: 52-62. There is another copy in HAG: Moncoes 74, fls. 48 ff., which was edited by F.N.Xavier in Colleccao das Leis Peculiares das Communidades, 1855-77: i-xi. There is a 17th century version in BM: MS Add. 28.433, fls. 3-7, and a 19th century copy in BNL: MS 201, n.128. Cf. also a digest of the Charter in SG, III, 14-18. The first English translation of some abstracts of the Charter were published in Whiteway, R.S., The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550, App. II, 215-20; a complete English rendering along with commentary in Baden-Powell's "The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century", JRAS, London, 1900: 261-91.

30. BHC, II, 21 n. 40; Appendix I a (Companion Volume).

31. Maine, Village Communities in the East and West, 122-3.

32. Altekar, A History of Village Communities in Western India, 1-2, 10.

33. Almost all the authors without exception have imagined the situation at Goa as similar to that in the neighbouring regions. Hence, their tendency to equate headmen with elders. There was no equivalent of Maharashtrian Patil in Goan village communities.

34. Baden-Powell, op. cit., 265 (Clause 46).

35. Ibid., 265-6: Clauses 41-2, 46-8.

36. BHC, II, 40 n.247; 41 n.298.

37. Baden-Powell, op. cit., 272 (Clause 15).

38. Altekar, op. cit., 11. Cf. Gune, V.T., "Land Laws", HMD, II, 545.

39. Pereira, "Instituto Organico das Communidades do Concelho das Ilhas", OP, n.5, 1933: 89; Kosambi, Myth and Reality, 163.

40. Altekar, op. cit., 81

41. Bhatia, "Disintegration of Village Communities in India", 91.

42. Baden-Powell, op. cit., 270 (Clauses 6, 7).

43. Ibid., 264 (Clauses 17-9).

44. Ibid., 265 (Clause 40).

45. Ibid., 270-1 (Clause 30).

46. Ibid., 264 (Clause 8).

47. Kane (ed.), HD, III, 558, 561 ff.

48. Cunha Goncalves, "Usos e Costumes dos Habitantes Nao-Cristaos da India Portuguesa", Estudos Coloniais, I, nn. 2-3: 50-1.

49. Baden-Powell, op. cit., 271 (Clause 32): Only division per stirpes was recognized. Cf. APO-CR, V, 156-9; F.N.Xavier, Additamento ao Codigo dos Usos e Costumes, Nova Goa, 1861: 5-10; HAG: Moncoes 76, fl. 55v.

50. F.N.Xavier, op. cit., 11-31; Wicki (ed.), O Livro do Pai dos Cristaos, 130-2, 133-4.

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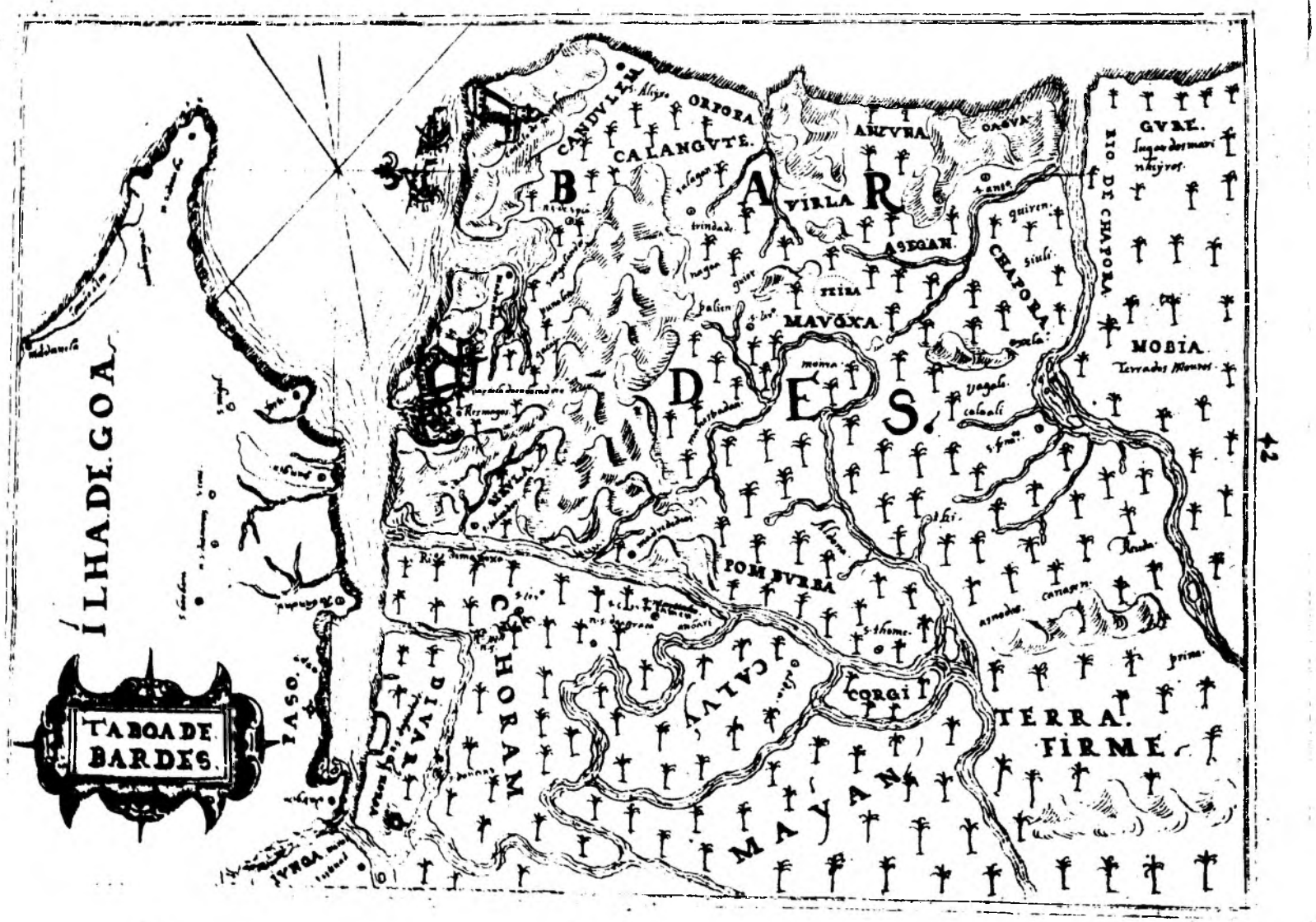
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CHAPTER FOUR

AGRARIAN ORGANIZATION AND PRAXIS

By and large the rural agrarian life of Goa during the seventeenth century continued to be ruled by the Charter of Afonso Mexia. The Charter, however, just delineates the outline of the agrarian organization with its essential characteristics. In order to capture the system at work with its functional details one has to go beyond the Charter and scrutinize the contemporary records of the individual village council proceedings and accounts. This is precisely what has been attempted in the present chapter, and the actual working of the agrarian system is described in the context of land tenure, land distribution, land revenue, and distribution of profit and loss. The chief village functionaries and their functions, as well as the non-agricultural services have also been discussed.

The Village Council

The difficulties of transport and communication, and the consequent isolation, were the chief factors that required each village to be a self-contained and self-supporting unit. For all practical purposes the administration of the village was in the hands of the village council, and it was only for the purpose of revenue collection and certain judicial cases, or law and order problems which the village administration was unable to cope with, that there was State machinery and a link

organization between the State and the villages at the province or *desa* level. At the State level the highest authority to which belonged the administration of the villages was the chief revenue superintendent. On certain issues pertaining to the crown lands in the villages the crown attorney had a say before a final decision-making by the chief revenue superintendent.[1] At the provincial level there was a chief *thanadar* in Tisvadi and military captains in Bardez and Salcete with general supervisory powers over the administration of villages in their respective provinces. They possessed administrative, police and judicial attributions.[2] To help them in the collection of revenues there was a collector in each province (*recebedor*) assisted by a clerk (*nadkarni*). As a more direct link between the provincial administration and the villages there was a General Assembly (*camara geral*) formed by the representatives of the chief villages of each province.[3]

Normally, it was the village council that took all the administrative decisions in the village. The meetings of the village council, consisting of the elders of each *vangad*, were held as needs arose and they were frequent. They would meet generally at open places where there was shade and cool atmosphere. Hence, these meetings (*ganvpan*) would take place under a mango tree or a banyan tree. When only a few met, the meeting was held in the house of a *ganvkar* or in the Church verandah. Occasionally meetings were called by the chief *thanadar*

or the province captain at his residence.[4]

The ganvkars in council always had the village clerk (kulkarni) with them to declare the nem and to record the proceedings. The office of the clerk was hereditary, but in addition to this so-called escrivao fatiosim there was in a village another clerk-accountant, who kept the register of village lands and revenues, and he was known as sanbuka, which was a corrupt version of senabova or senaboga. The Portuguese designation for the same was escrivao corrente. This latter category of clerks were examined and approved by the Revenue Department and their appointment to a particular village had to be accepted by the village council concerned.[5]

Land Tenure

Hindu law codes had always recognized that the land belongs to the clearer of the wood.[6] It was on this basis that the village communities regarded themselves as rightful owners of all the village lands. However, the Muslim rulers all over India, including Goa, had the tendency to overrule the ownership of the original soil-cleaners by their right of conquest. Muslim domination had set in the process of feudalization in Goa at the time of the Portuguese arrival.[7] This process was halted by Afonso de Albuquerque, who invited the native Hindus to cultivate their lands in peace and pay their revenue, which he reduced by one third in order to win the good will of the Hindu population and to utilize their cooperation exterminate the Muslims.[8] The policy of Albuquerque

was confirmed by a royal proclamation of December 18, 1519, revising an earlier proclamation and stating that the lands that had always belonged to the natives would not be taken away from them.[9] The issue of the Charter in 1526 marked a very significant step towards the recognition of the village community tenancy rights, though the Charter retained quite a number of rules that had been introduced by the Muslims and were deterimental to the village communities. Thus, for instance, the rule in the case of failure of a whole village strikes us as very harsh; for here the other villages, not the treasury, are to bear the loss, although they are in no wise to blame for it.[10] Moreover, the rules of 'escheat' (on failure of heirs) have been largely extended to benefit the Government, and collateral succession is not regognized.[11] These rules were responsible to some extent for the dispossession of the village communities of their lands, which became crown lands and passed into alien hands by way of grants. This happened soon after the conquest of Goa when the lands that were owned by the Muslim inhabitants of the city and the suburbs were distributed among the Portuguese as tax-free grants, and since these lands had to pay revenue to the village communities to the tune of 1460 ½ tangas and 14 leaes, this sum was discounted from their dues to the State.[12] In the wake of the conversion policy and the subsequent destruction of the Hindu temples, the lands which the village communities had applied

to the maintenance of cult and ministers of the cult were handed over to the Jesuits and other ministers of the new religion in violation of a written convention guaranteeing that the lands would remain in the possession of the village communities and that they would only pay an agreed sum for the upkeep of the new cult.[13] Some of the entire villages were confiscated in the Salcete province to punish their rebellious villagers and they were given as grants to certain individuals, who in turn passed them on to the Society of Jesus by way of endowment. Thus Kola, Ambely, Assolna, Kunkoly, Veroda and Velim became properties of the Jesuits in Salcete.[14] In Bardez the village of Anjuna lost some of its lands as punishment for rebellion,[15] and the villages of Nadora, Pirna and Revora were given as grant to a certain Mukunda Rane in 1609, probably for ensuring more effective defence of those border areas.[16]

In addition to the official action of the State there were private interests trying to invest their capital in the village lands. With the beginning of the seventeenth century this tendency becomes more marked because the Portuguese seaborne trade was becoming more and more risky for investment. In this rush for investment in the village lands the Religious whites proved to be a serious hindrance to the lay whites, who had to be contented with a poor show compared with what the organized and concentrated capital of the Religious Orders was achieving. Besides, the Religious pastors of the villages

had a firm grip on the villagers, and they did not mind exploiting their social and spiritual position to promote the temporal interests of their Orders with the ostensive zeal for implanting Christianity in the new soil. The frustrated anger of the Portuguese laymen took the form of loud denunciations of the clerical success. Thus, for instance, the Portuguese settlers of the Goa city wrote to the king of Portugal in 1603 that "if this this State of India is lost, it will be solely because of the Society of Jesus (...). They are absolute masters of a great part of this island (of Goa), most of which they have bought, and at this rate there will be no house or palm grove left which will not be theirs within ten years from now. The Portuguese setlers find themselves empoverished, because they have no lands to invest on, and whatever capital they had they have lost it in the sea. The income which the Fathers (of the Society) derive from their properties in Salcete alone should be sufficient to maintain all the Religious houses that we have here".[17]

It was in response to repeated complaints of this nature that several royal and viceregal orders were issued to control the estabilishment of new Religious institutions and to check the acquisition of more land properties by the existing ones.[18] The seriousness of the land grab on the part of the Religious Orders is sufficiently testified by the property registers of the various religious monasteries that flourished at Goa during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Following the suppression

of these monasteries in 1835, a part of their records were salvaged and they are there for any scholar to consult at the Historical Archives of Goa.[19] It is interesting to note that lands were acquired by the Religious Orders in Goa not just as foundations for their sumptuous houses in the city and its suburbs, but even for supporting their missionary activities abroad. Thus, for instance, the Jesuits had purchased lands in Goa to support their missions in Mocambique, Cochin and Japan.[20]

Large consolidated plots of land became a novel feature in the village agriculture. The Religious proprietors employed local labour, but they did not as a rule sublet their lands. They cultivated their paddy fields, and particularly their palm groves along more scientific lines.[21] Their large holdings and their large yield was not to the liking of the village ganvkars, who continued to claim hereditary powers guaranteed by the Charter while large tracts of the village land had gone and was going out of their control. Even their former tenants-at-will were becoming mundkars or rent-free tenants bound to the soil of the palm groves owned by the Religious Orders.[22] In these circumstances, the foreign investors known as khuntkars were refusing to acknowledge the administrative exclusivism of the ganvkars and had found ways of infiltrating the village councils as new ganvkars. The protests of the ganvkars against this violation of their privileged rights evoked Government response and brought about a number of legis-

lative orders from 1604 onwards declaring that the khuntkars could not legitimately buy , or in any other way acquire, the rights of ganvkars, but the legislation was not applied with retrospective effect.[23]

As a result of the land grab by the khuntkars, the village communities were becoming unable to meet the growing demands of the State, which was always short of funds and had developed the habit of milching them out of the village communities as much as possible.[24] The white khuntkars, particularly if they were Religious, did not easily yield to pressures. It was, therefore, in its own best interests that the Government interfered with determination to arrest the process of alienation of the village lands. This was done by a decision of the Public Revenue Council in 1649, declaring that all proprietory rights upon the village lands rested with the crown and that the ganvkars were mere lease holders (rendeiros) with no rights to make grants of lands or to alienate them in any way on their own. This decision was based on an entirely irrelevant document, which it quoted to prove that right from the early times the Government had farmed out the revenues of Salcete and Bardez in triennial contracts. The term designating revenues in the quoted document is rendas, which means non-agricultural revenues and not land revenue for which the term foro was invariably used.[25] Therefore, even though the validity of the decision was questionable, in the prevailing

circunstances it was a lesser evil to be chosen. The decision paid rich dividends to the State exchequer during the period that followed, and at the same time the village communities were saved from further disintegration.

Land Distribution

The elevated areas of the village were, as a rule, set aside for residential purposes, and these were perhaps distributed originally among the residents of the village according to the number of the members of each family. Each family was provided a plot for house and for an orchard close to it. Such plots are designated in the village records as gharbata, ghormanda, thikan.[26] The residential areas were generally isolated from each other by low lying fields which were used for paddy cultivation. Each of the residential areas was known as vado, and all the vade together formed the village or ganv. Among the paddy fields there were some reclaimed from river or sea, and these were known as kantor or khazan lands. The highlands were known as morod and molloi. The areas lying in the vicinity of a spring or a lake were utilized for betel nut plantations, and these were known as kulagar.

The lands in a village were classified as first and second class lands, and those belonging to either class were divided into three portions, each portion being applied to a different purpose. Thus, the first class low lying paddy fields were distributed as follows: one portion consisting of the best

fields was set aside for the sustenance of the temple priest and temple servants, as well as for defraying the other expenses of worship. These were called nelly lands. The second lot constituted the fund of the village association, and the third portion was given as namasy to the village servants in lieu of remuneration for their services. Of the second class lands, one portion was granted to the temple and the village servants as namasy, the second portion was reserved for works of public utility, such as roads, tanks, canals, pasture lands, cremation ground, and so on. The third portion of the second class lands was given as grants to individuals for developing it into orchards, palm groves or areca groves against the payment of a fixed rent (kutumbana) or flexible rent (vanty).[27]

The paddy fields which belonged to the village fund could not be alienated by way of grants and they were given on annual or triennial leases to the highest bidding village residents.[28] Initially, perhaps, the auctioning of the paddy fields was done every year, as indicated in the Charter.[29] However, the records of the seventeenth century refer always to triennial auctionings of the fields. This change was probably justified by the fact that people would take better care of their fields at least during the first two years, because it had already become common practice to leave the fields unweeded and without manure during the third year of the lease (tisalak sandunk). Also the excessive expenditure incurred in conducting the auctioning was a sufficient reason to discourage annual renewal of the leases.

The auctioning of a village fields could last some couples of days and the Government officials and their aides had to be paid for all the days of their stay in the village. Thus, for instance, the auctioning of the fields of Aldona in 1604 took four days. The crown attorney who was present was paid 40 xerafins, his personal attendant 10 xerafins, his clerk another 10 xerafins, his interpreter (dubhaxi) 4 xerafins, his nayak 4 xerafins, and the machila or palanquin 3 tangas. The parish priest was paid 25 xerafins for having supplied meals to the Government official during those days. The total expenditure amounted to 102 xerafins, 1 tanga.[30]

The auctioning could begin only after the entire village was informed at least five nights in advance (pancaratri) by the village crier (parpoti) at the sound of a metal basin. Only the ganvkars, and rarely the kulacari, were allowed to bid. Any outsider could bid only through a ganvkar. The highest bidder had to present immediately his sureties in the person of one or more ganvkars owning lands, and failing to do so, the bidder was liable to pay a fine and the land was auctioned all over again.[31]

The leased plots of the sweet land were known as melaga, while the leased plots of the salty reclaimed land were called bandy or gutoga. These latter category of fields were gnerally farmed out for a period of three years to a khot who would present four guarantors and then distribute the whole area among its traditional cultivators forming an association that

was known as bhaus. This association had its president called kamat, which was an office kept in the family. He had his assistants known as palny, who kept watch over the clay levees and the sluice gates (mandusa) in order to prevent their rupture and inundation of the fields. The bhaus associates were bound to contribute with free labour whenever directed by the kamat to do so, and those who could not come personally had to send paid substitutes.[32]

It was customary to check if there was usurpation of any village land. This was done at the time of the triennial auctionings, but more systematically every twenty-five years.[33] More land was often added to their permanent holdings by their proprietors, and this additional area was generally obtained by reclaiming it from the rivers.[34] Those found with usurped area for which they paid no rent were fined a xerafim and a larim, whether the area was cultivated or not. This fine was applicable to the properties paying rent of vanty or flexible type. If the usurped area was added to a property having fixed rent, then four larim were charged for each coconut tree that was planted, and two larim for each empty pit. We have these rules observed in the Donkuly village of Salcete in 1629.[35] A slightly differeht pattern of fining was followed in the Sirula village of Bardez in 1660: When cereal producing lands were usurped, these were confiscated in favour of the village community and the guilty proprietor would pay an additional fine of 2,000 reis. However, if the usurped land had already coconut trees planted on it and

could not revert to the village community, then a rent of one tanga was charged for each tree every year, and an additional fine of 2,000 reis was collected immediately.[36]

The measuring of the fields did not follow an uniform system in all villages. In the Karbelly village of Tisvadi the paddy fields were measured with yanva, which measured five and half cubits, and it was very similar to the kathi of the neighbouring lands of Maharashtra.[37] In Salcete a cane of three varas of five spans each was in use during the mid-sixteenth century. In terms of cubits it must have measured seven and half cubits.[38]

The measuring of plots for coconut tree plantations was done with a rope (corda). This type of measure was not uncommon elsewhere in India, and Wilson's Glossary gives the length of a rasee as eighty cubits. In the Arthasastra of Kautilya we come across rajju as a unit of land measurement in cadastral survey. It was equivalent to ten dandas of four aratnis each.[39] It has not been possible for us to determine the length of the rope used in Goa, but apparently the rope used in Salcete and Bardez was not equal in size, because from figures available the coconut trees were planted in Salcete at a distance of one rope from each other, while in Bardez an average of five coconut trees were fitted in an area measuring one square rope.[40]

A third kind of nomenclature was current to indicate the size of the areca tree groves. The least unit of measurement was a zambo, which indicated the area occupied by one areca tree.

The largest unit was known as kagany, which was the size of a plot for six hundred areca trees. Each kagany consisted of four kamby, and each kamby of four gida and two zambe.[41]

Land Revenue

An entire village acted as a unit for the payment of the land revenue or any other additional impositions. The land revenue was fixed for each village. It is not clear when and how the land revenue payable by each village was assessed, but the Portuguese retained the traditional assessment and mode of payment. However, calculating the proportion between the gross income and the land revenue (sidau) paid by the villages to the State (divan), it can be reasonably deduced that the raya-rekha system of assessment of Vijayanagar must have been introduced into Goa during the century long rule of Vijayanagar in Goa (1378-1472). There were additional impositions, but the land revenue (foro) was about one-fifth of the gross income of the village.[42]

In addition to the land revenue the people had to pay a variety of other taxes during the Muslim rule. More burdensome among these were Godevrat and Kusavrat. The first of the two was destined to support the Muslim cavalry. The second imposition was an additional one-fourth of the land revenue.[43] These impositions must have surely been oppressive to the people, who could pay them only from the income they derived from the land cultivation. All these additional taxes were retained by the Portuguese. A report sent to the crown by an important

Church dignitary in 1545 had described the natives of Goa as very poor people and paying a heavy duty on what they cultivated.[44] Also a memorandum submitted by the General Assembly of the village communities of Salcete to the king of Portugal in 1643 represented the heavy burden of taxation and pointed out that the land revenue alone amounted to one-fifth of the produce, and that after discounting the labour cost and other expenses not more than six per cent profit was left to the cultivator.[45]

The job of collecting the taxes of the village was auctioned every year, and one who agreed to exercise it for least payment had to present his guarantors and act as potekar or sacador.[46] The collection of taxes was done in monthly or quarterly instalments depending upon the custom of the village. The potekar could approach the tax-payer only after the village clerk and a couple of elected ganvkars (louvad) prepared the account of dues to be collected from the individual tax-payers after deducting whatever village owed them by way of remuneration for services, or by way of discount for any theft of coconuts or damage to crops owing to the negligence of the village appointed watchman (terlu). Basing on the adau or the periodic balance sheet the clerk of the village had to work out a list of the tax-payers and their respective dues, and this list (uruvaly or bhatkula) he had to present to the potekar by the twenty-fifth day of the month at the latest. Only then the potekar could begin his rounds and obtain receipts from the clerk

for the collection made. The money that he collected, plus the sum he added (bartani) from his own pocket to make up for the defaulters, was to be submitted by him to the province collector (recebedor) before the beginning of the new month. He had to bring the receipts issued by the collector and hand them over to the village clerk to be noted down in the village account-book. If there was any delay in the collection of taxes and the payment to the province collector because of the negligence of the potekar, then whatever expenses were incurred due to the inquiries made by the province collector by sending his navaks and peons to the village had to be borne by the potekar.[47]

The methods of tax collection were very severe and dreaded by the tax-payers. The potekar would pay for the defaulters, but then with a kusa or a notification issued by the village clerk and endorsed by the province collector he proceeded to confiscate cattle, grain, or any movable goods he could find in the house of the debtor and auctioned them to cover the value of the tax payable by him. In the meantime the debtor was taken to prison by the nayak of the province collector and released only after the debt was satisfied. The confiscation of the goods was done in accordance with the valuation of goods done by the village grama-varika, in the presence of the village clerk, and by the parpoti of the village. Nothing more could be taken than required for the satisfaction of the debt.[48] If the debt could not be made good with the goods of the debtor, then those who had stood surety for

him at the time of land auctioning were taken to task.[49]

The potekar was entitled to collect interest on the money he paid for the tax defaulters. The interest when collected in grain was known as bhatkado and when collected in the form of coconuts it was known as narlmodo.[50] The rate of interest varied at different times of the year and the highest rate was probably charged for the months when the rice supply was most scarce. The average rate was approximately 11 %, but reduction was made in times of natural calamities, as it happened for instance in 1632 when the region was still recovering from the great famine. The collection of the interest was done along with the sixth and twelfth instalments which were paid at the time of the harvest. No cultivator could lift any ammount of paddy from the field without presenting to the watchman a chit issued by the potekar declaring that the cultivator owed no dues to the village.[51]

Mode of Interest Collection												
Order of Instalments		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Interest per xerafim in kudav of paddy.	1629:	2.5	2	1.5	1	-	-	2.5	2	1.5	1	-	-
	1632:	1.5	1.5	1	0.5	-	-	2	1.5	1	0.5	-	-

The tabulated information refers to Kortaly in Salcete, and the blanks for the fifth, sixth, eleventh and twelfth instalments indicate that these instalments were paid at the harvest time and as such the problem of collecting interest did not arise.

The village customs provided measures to be taken against the potekar if he exceeded his powers. If a wrong person was arrested by the nayak of the province collector, the potekar was obliged to pay the person one bargany for each day of imprisonment. Also, if cattle not belonging to the debtor was taken by mistake, then various rates of indemnity were fixed depending upon the kind of cattle-head that was lost by its rightful owner. In Aldona, for instance, every head of cattle taken by mistake and returned had to bring along six zoitole per day. If a head of cattle died or was not returned to the owner, then the following dues were collected from the potekar to pay the owner of the cattle: four varaha for an ox, three for a cow, two and half for a he-buffalo, five for a she-buffalo, and two for a calf. This was the compensation demanded at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[52] However, the rates charged in Siuly and Sirula villages of Bardez in the early 70's of the seventeenth century differed very considerably. The charges in Siuly were four xerafins for an ox and three xerafins for a buffalo, cow or calf.[53] But in Sirula the charges were much higher, namely eight xefafins for an ox, the same amount for a milk-giving cow, five xerafins for a buffalo, and ten xerafins for a milk-giving buffalo.[54] This information is valuable to assess the labour cost and the living cost in an economy which depended upon cattle for cultivation, transportation and for food supply as well.

There were provisions to prevent the potekar from collecting more cash than he was entitled to collect from the tax-payers. If

he collected anything more than six zoitole he could be required to return one and half xerafins to the cheated party; if, however, the excess collected was less than six zoitole, then potekar's goods would be auctioned to give satisfaction to the tax-payer who demanded justice.[55]

In spite of all precautions taken to keep the potekar within the bounds of justice, he never ceased being a dreaded officer. That was chiefly due to his power to despoil the debtors of their few belongings without any consideration of mercy. A few illustrations drawn from the village of Kortaly in 1631 may help us to understand the fear of the tax-payers: For being unable to pay four tangas brancas and five leaes of his rent, one khandi and seventeen kudav of John Vaz's sorod crop of paddy was auctioned. For his inability to pay two tangas brancas and one bargany, Diogo Franco Purso lost an ox. Francisco Purso could not pay six leaes, and for that his canoe was handed over to the creditor for one month. Diogo Bhairo Purso owed three barganya and one leal, and for that his best cow was auctioned.[56] Potekar ietolo is a Konkani expression, meaning the potekar will come, commonly used by older people in Goa to frighten kids into doing things which they would not easily do.

Distribution of Profit and Loss

A general dhastudodo or balance-sheet was prepared yearly or half-yearly by the ganvkars and the village clerk. In the section indicating the adau or income the various sources of in-

come and their respective revenues were noted. The chief among them were always the paddy-fields and the palm groves. Meagre income was derived from some other sources, such as the rent of the village shops, the auctioning of the monopoly rights for killing fish in the khazan lands during the months of the year when they were kept flooded, auctioning of the river passage (penta), and so on. The section of expenditure was called vechu, and this included among other heads the land revenue and other taxes payable to the State. Then followed the stipends and the perquisites of the local functionaries and village servants, as well as expenditure on religious cult and public utilities. If the village had acquired any loans, these were also satisfied at this time. Whatever remained liquid after deducting all the expenses from the total income was shared by the jonkars and khuntkars.[57] Whenever the expenditure exceeded the income the loss was made good by recovering proportionate contributions from the jonkars and the share holders. Thus, for instance, the dhastudodo of Azosy for the year 1669 showed an adau of 1595 tangas brancas, 2 barganya and 14 leaes, but the vechu amounted to 1903 tangas brancas and 14 leaes. The deficit of 307 - 2 - 00 was distributed equally among the jonkars and eahc of them had to pay 4 - 1 - 01.[58]

Jon was the privilege of every male ganvkar after reaching a certain age which varied from village to village. It was the right of the ganvkar to a share in the net profit of the village, and only where the jonkar held properties paying flexible rent

he was also required to contribute to cover the deficit. But mere jon did not imply the obligation of contributing towards the loss. However, if a ganvkar was unable to pay his taxes, his right to jon could be auctioned by the village, but this could be done only during the life-time of the debtor-ganvkar.[59] In the beginning of the seventeenth century the indebtedness of ganvkars had led many of them to sell their jon to their creditors, who were quite often outsiders to the village. The evil consequences of this practice was soon realized by the village communities and legislation was introduced to keep out intruders.[60]

The distribution of jon followed a different pattern in different villages. In some cases the profit was distributed per stirpes, that is, into as many equal portions as the number of vangad in the village. The amount that each ganvkar obtained then depended upon the number of ganvkars in each vangad. The custom followed in other villages was to distribute the profit among the ganvkars individually, and this mode of distribution was known as personal jon. Quite often the village clerk, the widows and the orphans were also granted a full or fractional jon. It was also usual to grant a permanent jon to the patron saint of the village.[61]

Some More Village Functionaries and the Village Servants

There were a number of subbordinate functionaries that were elected or appointed periodically to help the village council carry out the administration of the village. Whenever a village

was required to supply free labour to the State, the village elected a couple of gramavarikas to make the necessary arrangements and to lead the batch of workers.[62] The function of a gramavarika was also to act as an assessing officer in case of thefts or damage caused by cattle to crops. In some villages the officials elected to do this were known as caugule, modestu and kumer.[63] They also judged petty cases and acted as justices of peace in a village. The chief caugula was generally appointed by inviting bidders, and the one who agreed to function with least salary presented his gadelikar or assistants. The job was farmed out with the conditions that these caugule should be just in their decisions and should be available at any time their services may be required by the people. A fine of two barganya was laid down if a caugula failed to answer a call.[64]

The village also farmed out the office of the terlus whose duty was to guard houses, orchards, palm groves and the paddy fields of the village. Generally, each vado or ward had a chief terlu who was responsible before the village council and he would choose some men to assist him. The job was entrusted to them by the village council which specified their duties and fixed their musara and other perquisites. Musara was paid by each ward to its terlu, and the perquisites were collected from the lease-holders of the paddy fields and palm groves in accordance with the village customs. Thus, for instance, in Cortalim village the terlu received six coconuts out of every hundred coconuts plucked and two kudav of paddy from each plot (zanvo)

of cultivated paddy field.[65] At Azosy a terlu watching paddy fields was paid between five and nine measures of unhusked rice per each bandy of cultivate land.[66]

The village council also appointed the padai or padekar for each ward of the village having palm groves. Only these village appointed padai were allowed to pluck the coconuts in the presence of the terlu. If there was any theft of coconuts, the owners of the palm groves had to produce before the village clerk the sworn testimony of the padai confirming the theft and specifying the quantum of loss in order to get the terlu to make good the loss.[67] At Siuly a padai was given three coconuts out of every hundred coconuts plucked when the palm grove was subject to kutumban rent, but those who paid vanty type of rent gave the padai two coconuts per every two tangas of rent.[68] The padai were also called upon to help at the time of field auctioning to hold the measuring stick or the rope.[69]

Not rarely villages appointed their sollicitors to defend the interests of the village in the courts of law.[70]

Every village had a definite number of servants whose non-gricultural services were essential for the economic self-sufficiency of a village. The available records of the Goan village communities in the seventeenth century contain references to the carpenter (thovoi), blacksmith (vinani), washerman (dhobi), potter (kumbhar), barber (malO), basket-weaver (mahar) and cobbler (chamar).

The services of the barber and washerman were almost exclu-

sively of personal attendance, while the services of the other village servants were more directly associated with the agricultural needs of the village. The carpenter had to fix the sluice-gates which prevented the inundation of the khazan lands. He also collaborated with the village blacksmith to keep the villagers supplied with ploughs, hoes and other agricultural implements. The potter supplied clay vessels for home use, as well as for watering purposes in the fields. The mahar manufactured the gudve, which were used to water the vaingan fields. He also did the weaving of mats and baskets and other bambu products such as supa, varlo, etc., which were essential for operations connected with threshing, cleaning and storing of paddy. The cobbler provided the ganvkars with footwear, and also with leather thongs for the whips and leather-bags for water.

There is very scanty documentary evidence to illustrate the mode of payment to each of the above artisans or to deduce their relative importance in different villages. Each artisan who served the village had the revenues of a namassy land or lands assigned to him in lieu of payment. Such grant was hereditary and could not be revoked, but if a person consistently failed to do his duty, the grant could be transferred to another person belonging to the same family and who would agree to serve the village.[71]

In addition to the income derived from the namasy lands, the artisans also received musara from the individual ganvkars, whom they served, in the form of grain. In case of some artisans

the remuneration was paid entirely by the village. Thus, for instance, the *ganvkars* of Azosy made a two-years contract with the cobbler Bras Fernandes to supply sandals. The village set aside a *namasy* for him, plus ten *xerafins* would be paid in cash every year in quarterly instalments. The *ganvkars* receiving sandals were also required to pay the cobbler a limited sum of one and half *bargany* per pair of two-strapped sandals and just one *bargany* for a pair of one-strapped sandals.[72] It was also a practice in the same village that each household of *ganvkars* should give ten *kudav* of *bhat* or unhusked rice to the *dhobi* as his annual *musara*.[73]

The artisans of all categories were welcomed by the *ganvkars* on the occasions of religious feasts in the village to have a share of special sweet rice cakes (*sadanans*) prepared on such occasions.[74]

The artisans had to make their rounds of the village every week and attend to the needs of the *ganvkars* who may require their help. An artisan could be fined by the village council every time he refused to attend to any *ganvkar*. Ordinarily this fine did not exceed one *tanga*, but sometimes it could be as high as five *tangas*.[75]

Each village also had its shepherds. Depending upon the size of the village cattle there was one shepherd for the entire village or even one shepherd for each ward of the village. Apparently, every eighty heads of cattle had one shepherd, who was paid not more than one *xerafim* per cattle-head a year.[76]

It was the duty of the shepherd to watch the cattle while grazing and to prevent its entering cultivated lands and damage crop. It was customary to impose a fine of two barganva for each head of cattle that entered a cultivated land and each time it entered the field.[77]

A village had also a goldsmith (shet), who stood higher than the other village servants in the social hierarchy, and he even claimed to belong to the class of the dvijas while the latter treated him as a vaisya.[78] The goldsmith did the piercing of the ear-lobes of the females and sometimes of the males as well, and he provided the villagers with the gold ans silver ornaments. He also acted as a shroff and checked the genuineness of the currency which the village officials had to collect by way of revenue. For this latter service he received a remuneration from the village.[79]

NOTES

1. HAG: Moncoes 53, fls. 50-1; BHC, II, 17-8.
2. APO-CR, V, 1-3, 12-6, 35-6, 65-8; HAG: ACF, XV, 59-62; Pissurlenoar (ed.), Regimentos das Fortalezas da India, 142 ff.
3. Baden-Powell, "The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century", 266 (Clauses 2, 43, 44 of the Charter); BHC, II, 24-5.
4. HAG: MS 10148, fl. 63v: "... Shrimatu Mhal-Gove grame padri vegairache ghari bhaisike..." (= in the village of Goa Velha, they (the ganvkars) met in the residence of the parish priest); HAG: MS 10017, fl. 15: "... talyachya bandachya ambyapya baisike..."(= by the lake side under a mango tree); HAG: MS 10204, fl. 10v: "... Raichura pobsatu Sinoru Gaspari Simauche gharapya bhaisike..."(= at the residence of the Captain Gaspar Simao in the village of Rachol they (ganvkars) met...).
5. Ghantkar, An Introduction to Goan Marathi Records in Halakannada Script, 54; HAG: Moncoes 93, fl. 388v; AHU: India, Caixa 24, doc. 158; Collection of Mr. Avelino Soares: Siuly village records for the year 1672 contain references to Sambuca, samuqha, sanbuqua, always meaning clerk-accountant.
6. Kane, HD, II, 867.
7. Barros, Decada II, Bk. V, Ch. II, 457.
8. Ibid., 470-1.
9. BHC, II, 8-10.
10. Baden-Powell, op. cit., 270-1 (Clauses 6, 27-9).
11. Ibid., 271, 280.
12. BHC, II, 10.
13. Ibid., 11-6.

14. BHC-JMS, I, docs. 13-4; Almeida,"A Aldeia Cola", OP, nn.3-4 (1920): 125-34.

15. Rocha, As Confrarias de Goa, 424, n.133; DMP, V, 439; HAG: ACF, IX, fl. 31v.

16. HAG: ACF, V, 66-7; BHC, II, 61. Ganoba Rane of the same family served the Portuguese in Ceylon with 400 men in 1639.

17. APO-CR, I, P.2: 128.

18. TdT: DRI 32, fl. 140; AHU: India, Caixa 25, doc. 117; AR, I, docs. 102, 212-3, 287-8, 490, 596, 617; APO-CR, V, docs. 956.

19. HAG: MSS 824, 830, 3026, 3029, 3038, 3041 are some of the codices of the long series entitled Papers of the Suppressed Convents that may be usefully consulted for studying the land grab by the Religious Orders.

20. ARSJ: Jap.Sin.23: fl. 379; HAG: Moncoes 190, fls. 734v-6v; ACF, IV, fls. 109v-110v.

21. BHC, II, 45-55: contains a short manual of instructions laid down by an early Jesuit in Goa for growing coconut trees in a scientific manner. Cf. HAG: MS 1498 (Ordens Regias, n.2), fl. 98: contains a report sent to the crown by the Bishop-Governor of Goa praising the skill and industry of the Jesuits in cultivating lands and making them productive(22.i.1636).

22. Appendix I c (Companion Volume).

23. APO-CR, V, 1375 ff.; Appendix I b (Companion Volume).

24. Appendices I h, I k (Companion Volume); BHC, II, 130 ff.

25. HAG: ACF, VII, fls. 81v-2; Xavier, F.N., Colleccao das Leis Peculiares das Communidades, I, 38 n.1.

26. BHC, I, 3.

27. Ibid., II, 7, 10, 44. Clause 9 of the Charter enabled the ganvkars to arrange for the cultivation of the waste lands by leases and at any rate of rent they please up to a period

of twenty-five years, but thereafter the customary rent had to be put into effect. According to this customary rent a property with hundred palm trees paid five tangas of four barganya each. If the area was smaller or bigger than that, the payment would vary accordingly. Twelve paces was the conventional distance between one tree and another. Clause 10 of the Charter determined the usual rate of rent charged for the areca groves. It was four barganya per year for a plot of hundred trees having only well water available, and six barganya when there was running water. The distance between one tree and another was of five cubits.

28. Appendix I d: ll. 17-20 (Companion Volume).

29. Clause 20.

30. Ghantkar, op. cit., 28.

31. HAG: MS 10226, fl. 21 (Cortalim); MS 10022, fl. 12v (Azosy): The fine for failing to produce a guarantor was laid down as five tangas brancas.

32. HAG: MS 10029, fls. 20, 35-5v; MS 10037, fls. 14, 15; MS 10038, fl. 15; MS 10039, fl. 12. A Kamat in the village of Azosy was paid with a rent-free grant of two bandys. He had only to pay the dues of the terlu. If any kulacari belonging to the bhaus failed to come for work when called upon to do so, he was liable to pay a fine of one tanga branca.

33. Appendices I f, I g (Companion Volume).

34. Xavier, F.N., Colleccao das Leis Peculiares das Communidades, I, 209-12; HAG: Moncoes 85, fl. 123v.

35. HAG: MS 10204, fls. 23-23v; Appendix I g: ll. 18 ff. (Companion Volume). The term used for additional usurped land is gaban.

36. Collection of Mr. Avelino Soares: Sirula village book for the year 1660, fls. 2v-3v.

37. HAG: MS 3069 (Tombo dos namoxins), fls. 51, 241v; Ghantkar, op. cit., 49-50; Kulkarni, Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji, 150: the length of the kathi was five cubits and five closed fists.

38. APO-CR, V, 638-40; DMP, X, 215-7.

39. AS-K, Bk. II, Ch. 20.

40. HAG: MS 3070 (Foral de Salcete, 1567), fls. 124-4v; MS 7587 (Foral de Bardez, 1647), fls. 185-6.

41. Faria, G., "Medidas Agrarias das Comunidades", OP, XVI (1919): 89-91; HAG: MS 10226 (Kortaly), fl. 97: two gidas and 19.25 zambe are referred to as a visavo or twentieth part of three kagany, three gidas and 13.5 zambe.

42. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, XV, P.2: 155-7.

43. BHC, I, 48-55; II, 55 n.276.

44. DMP, III, 207.

45. Appendix I h: ll. 112-4 (Companion Volume).

46. Appendix I j: ll. 74-84 (Companion Volume).

47. Ibid.

48. HAG: MS 10226 (Kortaly), fl. 36v.

49. Appendix I j: ll. 22-4 (Companion Volume).

50. HAG: MS 10226, fls. 5, 11v, 15, 17v-8; MS 10254, fl. 13v. The narlmodo paid in the village of Donkuly in 1638 was at the rate of 25 coconuts for each xerafim of debt.

51. HAG: MS 10227 (Kortaly, 1630), fl. 26v. The auctioning of goods or properties to effect the payment of debt at the time of the payment of the sixth and twelfth instalments was known as kadsany: Collection of Mr. Avelino Soares: Bastora village records (1679), fl. 10.

52. Ghantkar, op. cit., 31.

53. Collection of Mr. Avelino Soares: Siuly village records(1671), fls. 2v-3; Appendix I j: ll. 26-9 (Companion Volume).

54. Loc. cit.

55. Ibid., ll. 50-5.

56. HAG: MS 10226 (Kortaly), fls. 10v-11.

57. HAG: MS 10207 (Donkuly), fls. 13-13v.

58. HAG: MS 10029 (Azosy), fl. 5.

59. Gomes Pereira, Jonos, 7 ff.

60. Appendix I b (Companion Volume); Vide supra n. 23.

61. BHC, I, 62-4; II, 29, 39, 141.

62. HAG: MS 10032 (Azosy, 1667), fl. 27.

63. HAG: MS 10045 (Karbely), fl. 32; MS 10033 (Azosy), fl.12; Collection of Mr. Avelino Soares: Bastora village book (1679), fl. 10.

64. HAG: MS 10056 (Karbely), fl. 50v.

65. HAG: MS 10228 (Kortaly), fls. 23v-4: The terlu received by way of perquisites 10% from jackfruits, bananas and areca-nuts, and 6% from coconuts. He received no perquisites in case of a theft. Cf. Ghantkar, op. cit., 64.

66. HAG: MS 10035 (Azosy, 1688), fl. 8v; MS 10038 (Azosy, 1694), fl. 15.

67. Appendix I i (Companion Volume).

68. Loc. cit.

69. Appendix I g: 23v, ll. 5-6 (Companion Volume).

70. HAG: MS 10037 (Azosy, 1691), fl. 15; Moncoes 85, fl. 126.

71. Baden-Powell, op. cit., 268 (Clause 12); Chicherov, India: Economic Development in the 16th-18th Centuries, 15-43.

72. HAG: MS 10027 (Azosy, 1666), fl. 3v.

73. HAG: MS 10020 (Azosy, 1608), fl. 26v.

74. HAG: MS 10032 (Azosy, 1667), fl. 54v.

75. HAG: MS 10042 (Karbely, 1613), fl. 31v; MS 10031 (Azosy, 1671), fls. 3, 7. An excessively high fine of 10 tangas brancas was estabilished by the ganvkars of Azosy in 1672 against the village barber who had become very negligent in his duty. The charges levelled against him were that he was too often found drunk and using blunt tools.

76. HAG: MS 10022 (Azosy, 1613), fl. 13; Xavier, F.N., Colleocao das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades, I, 204-5.

77. HAG: MS 10058 (Karbely, 1622), fls. 21v, 23, 27v; MS 10022, fl. 13.

78. Braganca Pereira, Etnografia da India Portuguesa, II, 39.

79. HAG: MS 10037 (Azosy, 1691), fl. 10; Collection of Mr. Avelino Soares: Sirula village records (1660), fl. 31; Chicherov, op. cit., 29.

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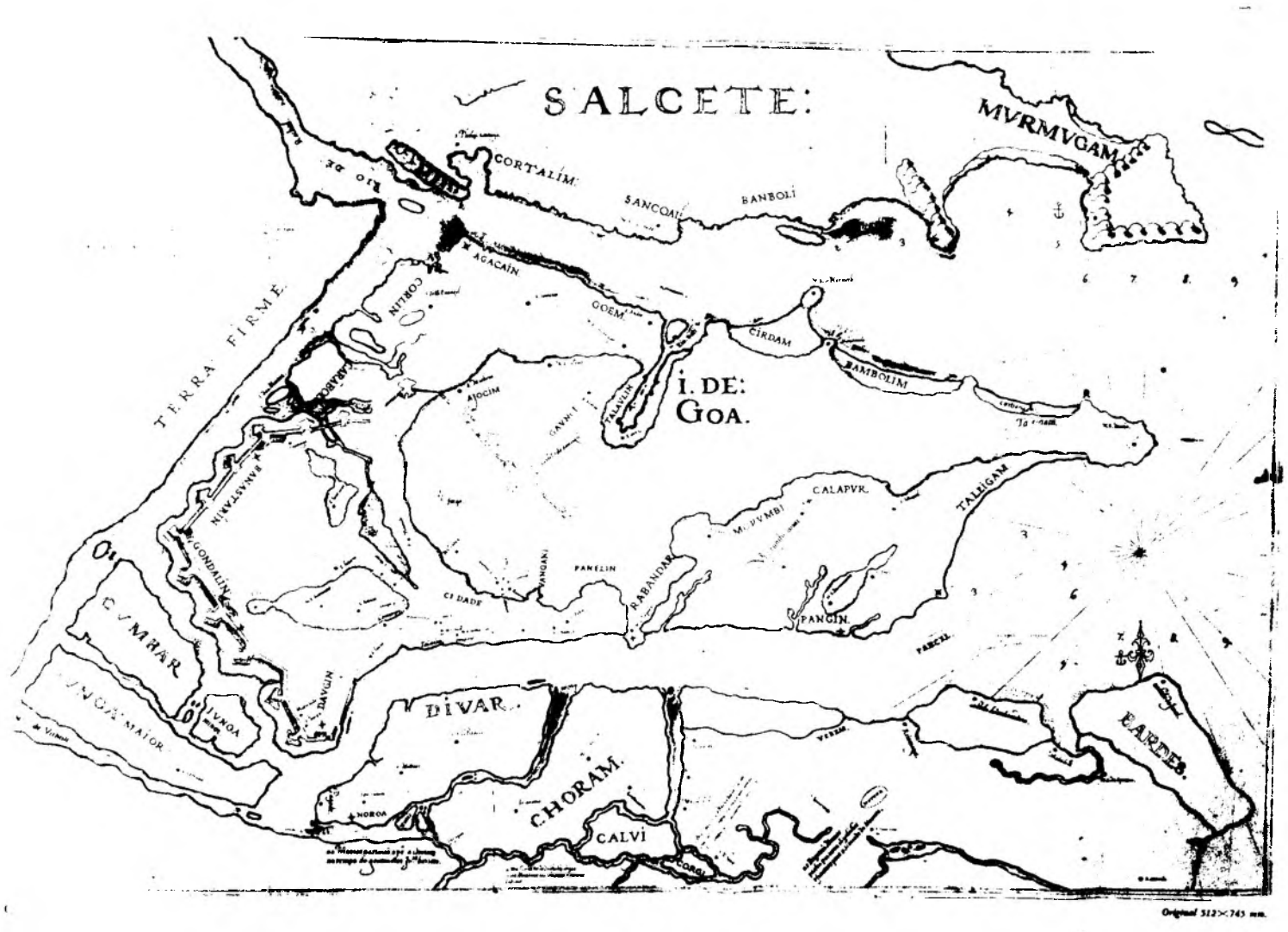

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ANÓNIMO-MANUEL GODINHO DE ERÉDIA, c. 1616

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

CHAPTER FIVE

RURAL SOCIAL LIFE

Goan villages in the seventeenth century continued to be communities with their corporate organization which attended to the economic as well as social needs of the native population. Whatever might have been their self-sufficiency and degree of isolation prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, the impact of the mercantile capitalism and the introduction of post-Tridentine Christianity forced changes in the agrarian relations and brought about a very significant change in the *modus vivendi* of the Goan rural population.

Religious Worship

When the Portuguese adopted the policy of conversion in the forties of the sixteenth century, they destroyed nearly three hundred Hindu temples in each of the three talukas.[1] An average of four to five temples in each village suggests an unimaginable control religion must have exercised upon the village life. The village life was centred upon the temple: every activity had to be timed in consultation with the *jyotisi* and had to be initiated and ended with offerings to the family and village deities. Religious festivities were also occasions for gathering fairs which promoted inter-village economy.[2] Temples served as repositories for the village records, including the land survey and the land revenue registers.[3] It was in the temple premises that children were educated and where the adults organized their cultural activities,

particularly their zagor or dramatic performances.[4] The banyan trees in the vicinity of the temples served as venues for the village council meetings. It was also in the temple that a final solution was sought in case of property disputes which could not be solved with the help of written evidence.[5] The revenue of some of the most fertile paddy fields of the village was applied to the expenses of the cult and to the maintenance of the temple preists and other servants. In addition to these nelly lands and namasy lands there were several other customary contributions in cash and in kind offered to the temples on different occasions during the course of a year.[6]

The forties of the sixteenth century proved to be roaring and stormy to the cultural life of the village communities. On the eve of the arrival of the Society of Jesus in Goa two gentlemen occupying positions of influence in the Church hierarchy of Goa had set up a confraternity, known as Confraternity of Holy Faith, for initiating a positive drive for conversions to Christianity. This confraternity got round the Government authorities to pressurize the chief ganvkars of Tisvadi into making a grant of 2,000 tangas brancas every year from the revenues of the lands which had been set aside for the temples which were there no more. This was done, but the authorities recognized the claim of the chief ganvkars that the lands had always belonged and would continue to belong to the village communities.[7]

The Society of Jesus that had then just come into existence in Europe as the schock-troops that led the vanguard of Counter-Reformation did not take more than a couple of years to reach Goa and to impress upon the Portuguese Catholic authorities the need of applying to their overseas possessions the principle '<u>cujus regio, illius religio</u>' that was being enforced by the Reformers in Europe. It was through the Society of Jesus that Goa was infected with the zeal of Counter-Reformation.[8]

The Goan inhabitants saw for the first time since the arrival of the Portuguese that both the Church and the State were serious and worked in unison to force upon them the Roman Catholic Church. We need not question whether what was done is to be condemned or justified, but it is relevant to note that the impact of the drive upon the corporate life of the Goan village communities was impressive and far reaching. The methods adopted for propagating Christianity disrupted several social bonds and traditional attachments which were keeping the village communities together. Among other measures adopted, the Hindu temples disappeared, religious and social celebrations of the Hindus in public were banned, the Hindus were made to wear a dress that would distinguish them from the converts, the convert <u>ganv</u>kars of whatever rank in the social hierarchy of the village would precede a Hindu <u>ganvkar</u> in affixing their initials or signatures upon the village community records, and in the villages where the convert <u>ganvkars</u> were already a majority the Hindu <u>ganvkars</u> could be dispensed with in the meetings of the village councils.[9]

The economic pressures were no less intimidating: No Portuguese officials were to employ any Hindus in the Government or private service; the Senvi brahmins, who had been traditionally the village clerks, were to be replaced by capable converts; the converts were to be preferred as State tax farmers, if their bids were as good as of a Hindu bidder; the Hindu artisans were not to produce anything connected with the Christian worship; Hindu sailors and fishermen could be forcefully recruited to help in the State galleys; and the traditional laws of inheritance were mdoified to enable the convert females to inherit when a Hindu head of family died without a male heir.[10]

As in case of all legislation the above legislation was not always enforced with equal zeal and strictness, but even then the success was clearly visible. The practice of Hinduism was practically banished within the Portuguese jurisdiction of Goa; Christianity had been implanted and majestic Church edifices in baroque style were beginning to occupy the sites where formerly stood the village temples; those who did not wish to conform to the change had begun drawing paths of emigration. What was not so easily visible was the growing bankruptcy of the village communities as a result of their lands, labour and money being coaxed out from them to establish a baroque style of worship that did not suit the modest agrarian economy of the Goan villages.[11]

It may be remarked in this connection that it is not uncommon to hear that the early missionaries did no harm to the village economy by transferring to the Catholic Churches the paddy fields and the other benefices, which the village communities had already set aside since times immemorial for the maintenance of cult. Such way of arguing is fallacious, because it is based upon the ignorance of the fact that the revenue of such lands and benefices had never maintained any strangers to the village, but had always supported several families of the village connected with the temple worship and service. Obviously, this was no longer the situation when the foreign missionaries introduced the new religion and transferred the surplus revenues to the common pool of their Religious Orders. It must be said, however, in favour of the ministers of the new religion that they sincerely sought to prevent the exploitation of the poor villagers and introduced directly or indirectly several measures of social welfare.[12]

Where social integration was concerned the preaching of equality of all men did not prevent the Jesuits from establishing religious confraternities based on castes; and, just as their doctrinal wealth failed to promote greater social cohesion, their temporal wealth and unlimited political influence did not achieve proportionate results in raising the standard of living of their native converts.[13] Even concerning admissions to their own ranks, the Religious Orders, particularly the Jesuits, maintained strict racial qualifications.[14]

Promotion of Education

The Portuguese did not meet uncivilized and illiterate masses of people when they took over Goa in the early sixteenth century, but it was not until some decades later that they took cognizance of the literary heritage of the natives. It was discovered that there were natives well versed in Sanskrit religious literature and were conversant with the contemporary Marathī religious literature as well. During their night raids upon the houses of the prominent Hindus Jesuits came across volumes of Anadipurana and Mahabharata.[15] The Jesuit correspondence also refers to their discoveries of Viveka-sindhu of Mukundaraja, Bagvadgita, and Yogaraja-Tilak of Amritananda.[16] The Jesuits were deeply interested in having translations made of these works in order to refute more effectively the "errors" of Hinduism.

It is also known that a Goan Hindu from Kelxy, known as Krishnadas Sama, wrote religious poems in Marathi in 1526. Two of his compositions along with those of some others, such as Visnudas Nama, Dnyandeva, Sivadas, Nivritideva, Samayananda and Namdeva, are found transliterated in Roman script in a MS of the Public Library of Braga in Portugal.[17]

In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Jesuits began writing Christian puranas in order to satisfy the desire of the converts to listen to their esteemed pauranic stories. Purana Christao of Thomas Stephen, S.J., and Purana of St. Peter by Etienne de la Croix, S.J., both written in the contemporary

style of Marathi with some mixture of Konkani, are worthy expressions of the missionary zeal of the Society of Jesus which had realized the value of inculturation as an effective method of transmitting Christ's message.[18] Besides these two Jesuits there were some others who also composed works of religious and literary merit in the vernacular languages of Goa. Though comparatively less in quantity the output of the Franciscan friars in the field of literary production was not less meritorious.[19]

Prior to Christianization formal education must have been imparted in agraharas and brahmapuris. There is epigraphic evidence to the existence of two such educational places, namely in Goa Velha and Goalim-Moula, established in the 12th and 14th centuries respectively.[20]

The Senvi brahmins of Kortaly and Kelxy possessed a long tradition of scholarship. The kulkarnis of the village communities all over Goa were mostly Senvi brahmins. Fr. Francisco de Souza writes in his Oriente Conquistado that "all the Brahmins from Kortaly are known as Xenem (sic), which means tutors. Throughout the lands of Konkan they are the ones who teach the Brahmin youths to read, write and count."[21]

The Churches replaced the temples as centres of learning in the wake of conversions to Christianity. The Church schools were maintained at the cost of the village communities which paid the school master for teaching the sons of the ganvkars.[22]

There is not much evidence to expatiate upon the way the

schools were conducted or upon the nature of curricula followed. But in the more developed schools run by the Religious Orders in Old Goa, by the Jesuits at Rachol, and by the Franciscans at Reis Magos, the curriculum included Latin language and literature, religious knowledge, and liberal arts, including vocal and instrumental music. There were also lessons in vernacular language intended to train catechists who were to go back to their villages and assist their parish priests in the conversion of their co-villagers.[23] At St. Paul's boys' school run by the Jesuits in the city of Goa special attention was paid to arithmetic, because it was a subject very much appreciated by the business-minded natives. The contemporary Jesuit reports say that it was not unusual to find grown-ups in the arithmetic classes.[24]

Although Marathi written in old Kannada script appears to have been the literary language of the Goans, the spoken language was Konkani to which the early missionaries refer as lingua canarina or lingua bracmana[25]. The earliest reference to the spoken language of the Goan people is found in the Suma Oriental of the Portuguese traveller Tome Pires, who wrote in 1514: "... the language of this kingdom (of Goa) is concanim.... The language of this kingdom of Guoa (sic) differs from that of Deccan as well as from that of Vijayanagar...."[26] The Jesuit Henrique Henriques, who had completed the writing of a Tamil grammar in 1567 and had begun preparing a grammar of Konkani, wrote to the General Superior of the Society of Jesus comparing the two languages: " A few words

are similar in both the languages, but the construction is very much alike; nevertheless, Konkani is the more difficult of the two."[27] Thomas Stephen, S.J., who published his Purana Christao at Rachol in 1616, writes in the introduction that he did not use sudha Marathy, because the middle class people would not understand it (madhima lokasy nakale dekunu).[28] The same Thomas Stephen, who made a distinction between Marathy and the language of the Brahmins, wrote a grammar of Konkani and a Catechism in Konkani, which he called lingua canarim.[29]

From all the above it may be safely concluded that the village schools were administering the knowldge of the Christian doctrine in Konkani following the catechisms published by the missionaries in Konkani. The dictionaries of Konkani language compiled by the Jesuits during the first half of the seventeenth century, and the grammars of Konkani written by the missionaries, suggest also that they were trying to master Konkani for instructing the people in their own language.[30]

As the seventeenth century was coming to its end the Portuguese authorities were becoming painfully aware of the fact that their hold on Goa and other possessions in India was more precarious than ever before, and that the natives had never ceased to express their lack of feeling for the Portuguese. It was in this context that it was decided to impose the Portuguese language upon all the natives and suppress their native tongue. A viceregal decree of June 27, 1684, ordered that "the natives should apply themselves to the study and use of the Portuguese language, and the

parish priests and the school masters should teach the children Christian doctrine in the same language, so that in time it may become the common language for all, making thereafter no use of the mother-tongue."[31] This attempt of the Portuguese turned out to be an exercise in futility. Konkani was never exorcised from the Goan households, but what did happen is that Konkani was denied an opportunity to develop as an independent language and to have some literature worth the name.

Law and Order

The Portuguese had introduced western judicial institutions in Goa and a High Court of Justice (Tribunal de Relacao) was established as far back as 1545. But if we were to compare the various departments of the Portuguese administrative machinery on the basis of their inefficiency and corrpution, the administration of justice would have carried off the palm. We have the testimony of the great critic of the Portuguese overseas administration, Diogo de Couto, who wrote at the turn of the sixteenth century:"... here, one who has more power can have more justice and this cobweb cannot catch anything else than mosquitoes: a Gujarati is arrested and condemned for squatting while urinating; a Hindu is put in irons for quarreling with another of his kind or for abusing him; but if a favourite of the authorities or a wealthy person breaks open the safes of a Hindu and takes away his goods by violence, it is considered as a light issue and permissible."[32] The Italian traveller, Nicoalao Manucci, who had two

long stays at Goa during the second half of the seventeenth century has left a sickening impression of moral degradation and of a total breakdown of justice in Goa. He describes an episode of a French merchant who had a row with a shoe-maker over prices and had a stinking pot of excrement hurled at him. He also refers to hordes of negro slaves roaming all over the town causing disturbances. Wishing to give advice to visitors, Manucci refers to three stone statues on a wall near the Jesuit house of Bom Jesus in the city. He says that these three statues had their fingers touching the eyes, the ears and the lips respectively, and they had a caption at their feet: "He who sees, hears and says nothing, lives a life devoid of care."[33]

While the High Court was there for appeal, each taluka had its own official of justice. Tisvadi had its thanadar, Salcete had an ouvidor, and in Bardez the Captain of the taluka acted as its Judge. Each of these officers had his beadle (meirinho) and foot-soldiers to proceed to the arrest of the accused or offending parties. There is abundant documentation pointing to excesses and corrupt practices of these officials. A memorandum presented by the General Assembly of the village communities of Salcete to the king of Portugal in 1643 describes the ouvidors of that province as idiots.[34] Another memorandum of complaints sent by the people of Bardez in 1688 contains a long tale of extorsions and violence exercised by the Captain and Judge of the province.[35] The beadles and their soldiers were well known for arresting persons without cause in order to collect bribe money. They also

forced the village communities to pay for their journeys and stay in the villages which they quite often visited on false pretext of official work.[36]

As a rule the State officials intervened only when the local village authorities were unbale to cope with their responsibility for maintaining law and order within the limits of their jurisdiction. This intervention was resorted to when the village community had to proceed to an arrest, which it could not do, or when there was any serious bloody incident in a village, or when a dispute was taken by the villagers on their own to the higher authorities.

The collection of the land revenue and other taxes was the responsibility of the village community, and the village did it through its clerk and tax collector. These village officers had some limited powers to pressurise the villagers who were irregular in the payment of their dues, but it was often necessary to seek help of the province collector and to threaten them with arrest. It is interesting to note that in such cases of arrest the village communities expressed the dolidarity of their members by making the village community pay the prison fees of the arrested ganvkars and the other expenses connected with the arrest. The village would make arrangements to recover the money from the arrested ganvkars after their release and in easy instalments.[37]

The village watchmen or terlu bore the responsibility of guarding land properties and houses against thieves. It was also their duty to report to the province Captain if there was any

stranger living in the village. The watchmen were instructed to arrest anyone moving outdoors after seven o'clock in the evening without a lit torch in hands. They were required to produce before the Captain or thanadar anyone sought for murder or any serious trouble. They had to arrest run-away slaves and return them to their masters. They could confiscate the mantle (kamboli) and the chopper (koiti) of anyone whom they caught cutting down branches of trees growing by the river sides, because these trees protected the clay levees against erosion.[38] While the village watchmen acted their part as the ordinary guardians of law and order in a village, on exceptional occasions the village council is known to have taken extraordinary measures to meet extraordinary situations. Thus, for instance, the village council of Karbelly held a secret meeting on September 23, 1620, and it appointed ten ganvkars to arrest some mischief makers who were wanted by the Criminal Judge of Goa and had sought shelter in that village.[39]

There are innumerable references in the official documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth century to the quarrelsome nature of the Goan natives, who would spend all their time and their lean savings to sue each other in the courts of law for most trivial reasons.[40]

Certain petty disputes in the villages were settled by village appointed officials called caugule and gramavarika. They were generally called upon to assess the damages caused to crops or even to assess the value of the goods of a debtor before

the goods were auctioned to pay the dues. But the guilty could appeal to authorities above village level, and the court procedure then could last for an indefinite period. In such circumstances again the ganvkars showed their solidarity by protecting the interests of a fellow ganvkar who was unfortunate to fall victim of a court case against him. We read in the proceedings of the Karbelly village council in the year 1613 that they took a decision to the effect that "if any ganvkar or the village clerk is imprisoned owing to the hatred or ill-will of any enemy, or owing to any dispute, which God forbid, the prisoner will be freed at the cost of the village community; the ganvkars will also sow and look after the fields of the imprisoned ganvkar if necessary; and the village community will pay one tanga per day for the prisoner until his release."[41]

In order to prevent the villagers from destroying each other with the expensive court procedures, the Government had introduced simpler and summary methods of justice for them. It was ordered in 1562, and again in 1575, that all cases of the natives involving value less than three pardaus ought to be decided verbally by the presidents of the village Church confraternities (mordomos das Confrarias).[42] It was also determined that native Christians should not be imprisoned following any futile accusations against them, but only in cases involving killing, crippling or false witnessing. Such cases only,

and cases involving substantial values could be referred to higher officials of justice after depositing nothing less than two hundred xerafins.[43] The jurisdiction of the confraternity presidents was extended to cases involving up to twenty xerafins in 1618, but the villages in the neighbourhood of Ouvidor's or thanadar's residence had to refer all the cases to these.[44] A new legislative measure created the post of Judge Protector of the native Christians in 1682 to attend to the complaints of the native Christians of Tisvadi. He could not levy a fine exceeding twenty xerafins. His functions continued to be exercised in Salcete by its Ouvidor and in Bardez by its Captain, but these being untrained in law could not levy a fine exceeding ten xerafins. Their decisions had to be oral, and only in cases exceeding their juriddiction an appeal could be made to the High Court.[45]

In short, issues that affected the village good as a whole were judged by the village council. Thus, for instance, a certain Miguel Furtado was condemned by the village council of Azosy in September 1670 to pay twenty-five tangas brancas for cutting down a banyan tree which the village community had planted for providing a resting place for the travellers.[46] However, in case of petty individual disputes the presidents of the village Church confraternities constituted the courts of first instance. These presidents were invariably ganvkars of the village. They could decide cases not involving more than three pardaus and they could sentence with imprisonment which would not exceed three days. For all cases within their jurisdiction there was no appeal. The next

court of justice was that at the taluka level, and the final court of appeal was the High Court.

Social Welfare

It is necessary to distinguish three different agencies that contributed towards the social welfare amidst the rural population of Goa, namely the village elders, the Church ministers and the Government authorities.

Making provision of certain public utilities had always been a responsibility of the village communities. A weary traveller, a needy Brahmana and a holy pilgrim could always be sure of a place for night's lodging and boarding in an Indian village.[47] In Goa the situation could not have been very different. We learn that concern was shown for the travellers who carried heavy head-loads by erecting dovorni at every kilometre or so along the roads leading to the village market or to the intervillage fair, and trees were also planted on the same spots to enable the travellers to rest under their shade.[48]

The village communities had also worked out ways of helping out individual persons in need. Thus, for instance, in most of the villages the widows and the minor orphans were entitled to a share in the annual profits of the village in the form of an entire or fractional jon.[49] Alms in cash or kind were occasionally sanctioned by village councils in favour of some indigent person of the village.[50] And we read in a Jesuit report that one village of Tisvadi had even taken the trouble of making more permanent arrangement for helping the poor villagers in times of

food scarcity. Ten khandis of paddy were collected from the entire village at the time of harvesting, and with this fund the needy were succoured.[51]

The Church played a very significant role in the line of promoting social welfare. Each province had a Father of the Christians whose sole concern was to look after the welfare of the native converts and to favour them in every possible way. Concretely, among other measures of social welfare the Father of the Christians made arrangements for the training of the converts in different skills which could help them to find employment, and he also sought to check the ill-treatment of the slaves.[52]

The parish priests were acting in their respective villages as the protectors of the oppressed. Backed by the higher Church authorities with the directives of the provincial Church councils and with Archbishop's pastoral instructions, the parish priests tried to curtail the oppression of the non-privileged peasant classes of the village by the ganvkars, who tended to sublet lands for very high rentals or to reduce to bondage the tillers who could not pay their dues.[53]

The Church had also established controls over loans in order to check usury and rural indebtedness. The provincial Church councils had legislated that without guarantee or pawn the rate of interests that could be demanded was not to exceed 9 %; for a loan with guarantee but no pawn 8 % could be charged; and with guarantee and pawn the permissible rate of interest was only 7 %.[54]

The Jesuits in Tisvadi and Salcete had been still more practical in extending help to the villagers by establishing some sort of granaries (celeiros) from where they would lend seed to the cultivators who had not been provident enough, and the cultivators thus helped were required to replace the same amount at the harvest time.[55] It may be said in this connection that it was through such social welfare measures that the Jesuits had been winning the hearts of the rural downtrodden classes and at the same time irritating the spirits of the Portuguese laymen whose capitalist ideas of exploiting the rural wealth were frustrated thereby.[56]

Over and above there was the central agency of the State Government legislating social welfare measures. Thus, a law was enacted in 1605 and renewed in 1674 banning the celebration of weddings with banquets for more than thirty persons by native Christians, Brahmins, Banias and Chardos. In case of lower castes the number was further restricted to fifteen. This measure was introduced to prevent wasteful expenditure.[57]

Laws were also enacted to organize relief for the poor and crippled at the village level, taking care at the same time to discourage beggary on the part of the able-bodied.[58] Also the same purpose was intended in the legislation ordering procurement of all surplus rice production of every village. The surplus was kept within the respective villages, but it was sold to the needy of the village through a fair-price shop administered by the village community.[59] Along with these measures introduced during the last couple of decades of the seventeenth century it was also decided

to order each village community to set aside a portion of the annual profits to help the ganvkars who were victimized by the potekars by taking over their properties bringing a revenue of thirty to forty pardaus in order to satisfy their debt which did not exceed four to six pardaus. The new measure was also meant to help the entire village community, because whenever the village was required to make any war contribution or any other extraordinary payment to the State, it was forced to seek the help of some individual ganvkar or ganvkars to satisfy the State demand, and these money lenders normally made the best of the opportunity by extracting 300 to 400 % interest on the loans. Without a permanent fund to draw from, the village communities were not only condemned to see no annual profits, but they were often forced to mortgage village lands to the money lenders with long-term damage to the village revenue.

The same piece of legislation also tried to put an end to another serious form of exploitation that prevailed in the villages. Mortgage contracts were often signed with a clause stating that if the mortgaged property was not redeemed on the day indicated on the contract the mortgage contract would be considered as a permanent sale deed. With such a clause the creditors were usually trying to make themselves invisible on the day marked for redeeming the mortgage. The new legislation declared such transactions void and illicit.[60]

NOTES

1. SG, III, 13-4; CEO, I, 286; DI, VII, 387, 396.
2. AHU: India, Caixa 3, doc. 19 (22.i.1615) refers to fairs in Tisvadi, Salcete and Bardez in which the natives disposed of their surplus products, and procured cheap provisions.
3. Appendix I h: ll. 25-6 (Companion Volume).
4. Altekar, A History of Village Communities in Western India, 115; HAG: MS 10045 (Karbely, 1660), fl. 10: the village made the payment for the expenses of the zagor; APO-CR, IV, 251.
5. Baden-Powell, "The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century", 273 (clause 22).
6. Gabinete Litterario, II, 70 n.1; HAG: MSS 3070-1 (Two copies of the Foral de Salcete, 1567), 7583-5 (Three volumes of the new Foral de Salcete, 1622): passim.
7. BHC-JMS, I, 207-14.
8. Boxer, PSE, 66 ff.; Harrison, "International Rivalries Outside Europe: Asia and Africa", 548.
9. HAG: Moncoes 46A, fls. 213-6, 258-60: legislation on the celebration of Hindu weddings; Moncoes 14, fls. 183-3v: Count of Linhares proposes permission to Hindus to celebrate their functions against the payment of an annual sum to the Government; MS 7846 (Alvaras e Provisoes de Sua Magestade), fls. 136-39v: traces the whole history of bans on Hindu celebrations; Wicki (ed.), O Livro do Pai dos Cristaos, 63-70, 49-51, 228-9; Priolkar, The Goa Inquistion, 114 ff.
10. Wicki, op. cit., 49-51, 77-8, 84-5, 104-5, 113-22, 130-4, 184-5, 208-11, 224-9; Priolkar, op. cit., 114 ff.
11. Appendix I h: ll. 99-104 (Companion Volume); BHC, II, 123 ff.
12. Fondo Gesuitico: MS 74-B/9/1443.
13. Rocha, As Confrarias de Goa, 318 ff.

14. Boxer, Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 65-8; Melo, The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India, 163-7.

15. DI, I, 328; IV, 339, 203; Pissurlencar, "Primeiros Livros Marathas", BIVG, n.73 (1956): 60-1, 76-8; DMP, VI, 470-1; VII, 221.

16. DMP, VII, 344-5; VIII, 220.

17. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 66-7; "Sarasvat Santakavi Khrisnadas Samacha Shodha", in Shri Shantadurga Chatuhshatabdi Mahotsava Grantha, 67-78.

18. Pereira, Konkani a Language, 1-3; Priolkar, The Printing Press in India, 241-81: has published extracts from both these works.

19. Priolkar, op. cit., 225 ff.

20. Pissurlencar, Goa Pre-Portuguesa atraves dos Escritores Lusitanos, 16-8; "Inscriooes Pre-Portuguesas de Goa", OP, n.22 (1938): 400-3; "Um passo do cronista Barros elucidado a luz duma inscricao sanscrita", OP, n.18 (1937): 35-45.

21. Souza, OC, II, 12; Valavlikar, V., "Shenay", in Shri Shantadurga Chatuhshatabdi Mahotsava Grantha, 79-90.

22. ARSJ: Goa 35, fl. 274v; Ghantkar, An Introduction to Goan Marathi Records, 38 (doc. 12).

23. Meersman, The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India, 101; HAG: MS 475 (Cartas Patentes e Alvaras, n.7), fl. 266 contains a land-grant in favour of Diogo de Souza, a principal ganvkar of Moira (Bardez), who was educated at Reis Magos and then helped the Franciscans to catechize his co-villagers. Cf. also HAG: MS 2200 (Registo das Cartas de Aforamento), fl. 54: gives details of the grant (1618).

24. DI, V, 583-4, 595.

25. Pissurlencar, "Os Primeiros Livros Maratas Impressos em Goa", 55; DI, V, 274; VI, 684, 699, 721, 501; VII, 44, 58, 76-7,

79, 81-3, 545, 574, 623; VIII, 70-1, 73-4, 79, 145-6, 172, 324-5, 327-8, 333, 421-5; Pereira, op. cit., 3.

26. Cortesao (ed.), The Suma Oriental, II, 373.

27. DI, VII, 442; VIII, 155-6, 172.

28. Pereira, op. cit., 3.

29. Priolkar, The Printing Press in India, 322, 325.

30. Ibid., 222 ff.

31. HAG: Moncoes 49, fl. 291; Moncoes 52, fl. 86.

32. Couto, Soldado Pratico, 56-7.

33. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, 157 ff., 173-4.

34. Appendix I h: l. 247-8 (Companion Volume).

35. BHC, II, 65-7.

36. Wicki, O Livro do Pai dos Cristaos, 146; Moncoes 85, fl. 128-9.

37. Ghantkar, op. cit., doc. 10.

38. Ibid., docs. 13, 21; HAG: MS 10228, fls. 23v-4; Appendix I i (Companion Volume).

39. HAG: MS 10056, fl. 43v.

40. Appendix I h: ll. 245 ff. (Companion Volume); APO-BP, T. IV, Vol. II, P.1: 262 in which Antonio Bocarro describes Goa as an academy of sollicitors.

41. HAG: MS 10042, fl. 33.

42. Wicki, op. cit., 202-3; Rocha, As Confrarias de Goa, 174-5.

43. Wicki, op. cit., 143-7.

44. HAG: Moncoes 87, fl. 14.

45. HAG: Moncoes 47, fl. 218; Moncoes 49, fl. 18.

46. HAG: MS 10029, fl. 29.

47. Altekar, op. cit., 119-20.

48. Kosambi, Myth and Reality, 162; HAG: MS 10029, fl. 29.

49. Pereira, A.F.,"Instituto Organico das Communidades", OP,n. 5 (1933): 85-112; n.6 (1934): 235-305.

50. HAG: MS 8000 (Aldona), fl. 33v: A woman beggar called Sidul is given half xerafim for saree (kapod); MS (uncatalogued) of Chimbel village (1639-88), fl. 3v: The village paid six barganya to bury a poor villager, Jorge de Menezes by name; ibid., fl. 14: The village council santioned one bargany as alms to a poor.

51. DI, VIII, 83-4.

52. Wicki, op. cit., 14-28.

53. Fondo Gesuitico: 74-B/9/1443, Goa 43. Is an excellent report on how the Jesuits in Salcete tried to protect the peasants against the oppression and tried to exercise their spiritual ministries without seeking any remuneration from the natives.

54. APO-CR, IV, 277.

55. DI, XII, 614.

56. APO-CR, I, P.2: 128; AHU: India, Caixa 27, doc. 28 (28.i.1666); Appendix I d: 11. 145 ff. (Companion Volume).

57. HAG: Moncoes 53, fl. 26v.

58. Wicki, op. cit., 155-7; HAG: Moncoes 49, fls. 298-8v.

59. HAG: MS 7846, fls. 169-9v.

60. Ibid., fl. 156v-7; AR, II, 664-7.

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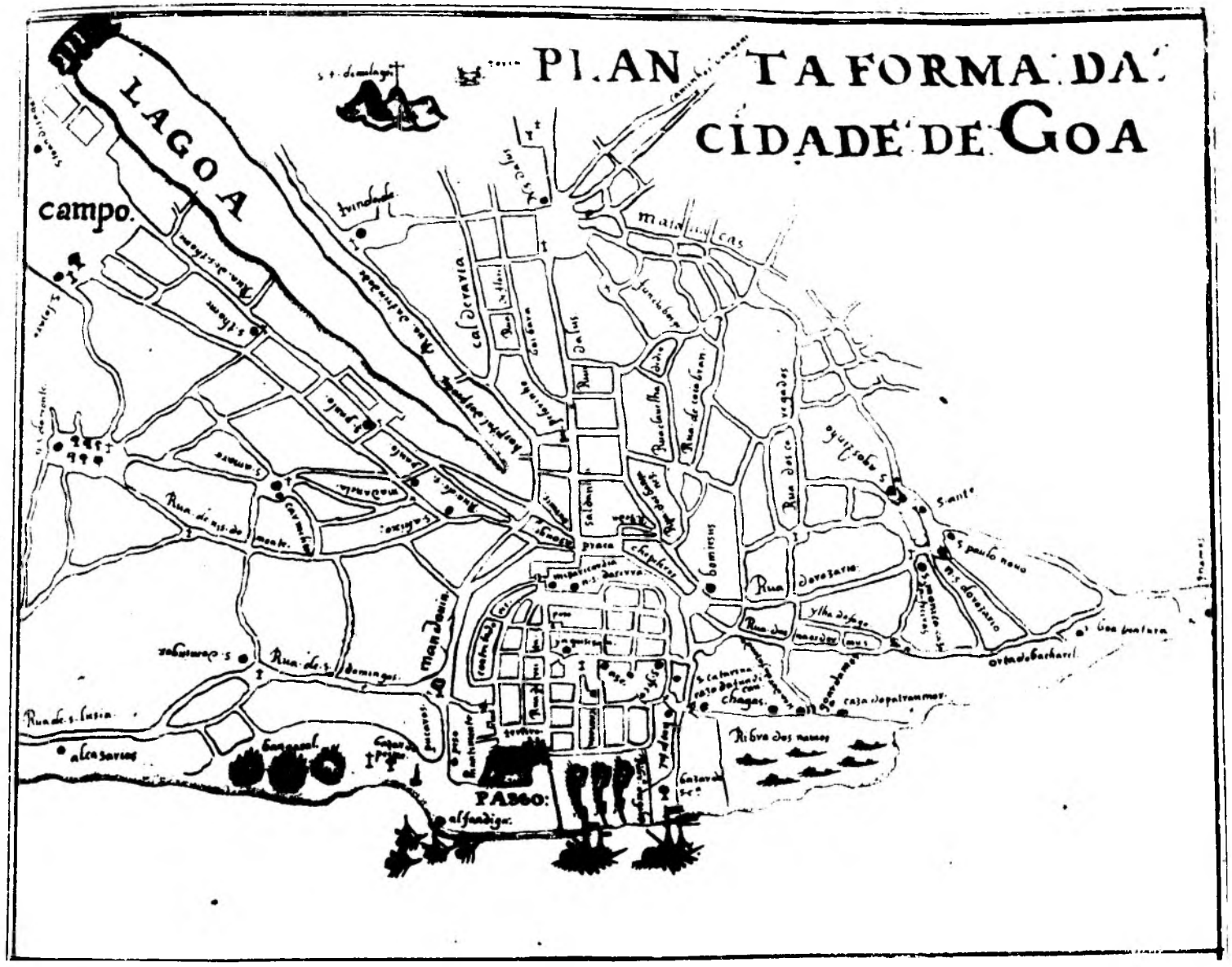
PLANTA FORMA DA
CIDADE DE GOA
LAGOA
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CHAPTER SIX

URBAN TOPOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

The city of Goa, which the Portuguese captured from Adil Shah in 1510 and converted into headquarters of their eastern empire in 1530, originally gained importance as a replenishing centre for the Muslim trading vessels and had developed into an important horse mart supplying quality steeds from Hurmuz to the rulers of the Deccan and Vijayanagar.[1] The capital of the region was shifted from the northern bank of the river Zuari to this place on the southern bank of the river Mandovi due to at least two most probable reasons: Firstly, the Muslim rulers of the Bahamani dynasty must have found the new city founded by the Muslim traders a more congenial place than the region developed by their Hindu predecessors. Secondly, the silting of the Zuari river had apparently reduced the strategic and commercial importance of the capital lying on its bank, thereby making the transfer unavoidable.[2]

Very little is known about the city of Goa and the development of urban economy before the Portuguese take-over. A short but comprehensive report by a near-contemporary of Albuquerque has described the city soon after its conquest by the Portuguese as "very great, with good houses, well girt around with strong walls, with towers and bastions". The inhabitants of the city are described as "Moors of distinction, many of whom were of divers lands. They were white men, among whom, as well as merchants of great wealth, there were also many husbandmen." The nature

of the urban economy is further stressed by saying that "land, by reason that the harbour was exceeding good, had great trade, and many ships of the Moors came thither from Mecca, the city of Adem, Ormus, Cambaya and Malabar".[3]

From the rest of the meagre information that is available it is clear that Goa was occupying a pivotal place in the Muslim trade in western India. There were even good facilities for ship building and ship-repairs.[4] It was precisely because Albuquerque had the right assessment of the situation that he went ahead with the plans for the conquest of Goa against a strong opposition of his colleagues.[5] It was again due to the realization of the strategic importance of Goa that the Portuguese shifted their headquarters from Cochin to Goa in 1530.[6] Goa then became the central port of assembly of the Portuguese Asiatic trade. And since the Portuguese monopolistic pattern of trade was enforced with gun-boats, the royal shipyard was developed in Goa on a gigantic scale with facilities for ship-building, ship-repairs, gun-casting, and storage facilities for all the necessary armament and provisions for the fleets which cruised the eastern seas. It was in Goa that one could feel the pulse of the Portuguese commercial life in the East.[7]

With the dawn of the 17th century the Portuguese fortunes in the East were already set on their downward march, but the French traveller Pyrard de Laval, who lived in the city during the closing years of the first decade of that century, found the Portuguese eastern metropolis still commanding considerable power,

wealth and celebrity. However, hard times followed and misery was looming large even though the Portuguese married settlers were trying their utmost to hide their poverty and to extend the show of extravagance much longer than they could afford it.[8] The decline was obviously due to dwindling trade prospects, but there were internal causes which hastened the process. These internal factors were the natural concomitants of urban development, namely moral degradation and ecological hazards. Hence the need of the following topographic and demographic considerations.

Urban Topography

The city lay on the northern coast of the Tisvadi island and on the left bank of the Mandovi river. It was situated nearly two leagues away from the place where the Cabo promontory of the island jets into the Indian Ocean. The city extend along the river side from Panelim to Daugim, a distance of about two-thirds of a league. Along the coast were located some of the important State and city estabilishments: On moving in a West-East direction one met first the royal shipyard (ribeira grande), followed by the quay of Saint Catherine, the galley yard, the quay of the viceroys, the customs house and the store-houses for the imported foodstuffs (bangacal).[9] Immediately behind this line of estabilishments but contiguous to it were the royal hospital and the palace of the viceroys. On the eastern side of this palace was the chief city market square (terreiro de mantimentos and bazar grande), and to its western side was the main entrance gate of the city, known as the arch of the viceroys because every new viceroy entered by that gate to take office.[10]

The heart of the city was somewhat triangular in shape with its base running parallel to the river bank from the hillock of Our Lady of Mount on the eastern side to the hillock of Our Lady of Rosary on the western side. Taking into account the accidents of the terrain it was a distance of nearly 4,500 feet.[11] The centre of the triangle base was the starting point of the Straight Street (rua direita), also known as Street of Auctionings, because it was the busiest marketing centre of the city and there were all kinds of goods, including slaves, auctioned all throughout the week , with the exception of Sundays and holidays, from early morning until noon.[12] This street was flanked on either side by shops of jewellers, goldsmiths, shroffs, and many other kinds of merchants and artisans, chiefly from Europe.[13] This main street ended with the square of the Church of the Holy House of Mercy, which lay almost at the centre of the city.[14] Behind the Holy House of Mercy (Santa Caza de Misericordia) there was another marketing centre, which was very much frequented, though for non-lasting food commodities like green vegetables the city folk had to visit the bazarinho, meaning small market, which lay between the Convent of Saint Francis and the royal hospital, and for fish supply they had to frequent the quay of Saint Catherine.[15]

The square at the terminal of the main street was known as pelourinho velho or old pillory, because there was the court of justice and the city police station. The law breakers were often whipped there in public.[16]

There were six different streets coming to meet at the pillory square, and among these there was one that descended from the

the hillock of Our Lady of Light rising at the sourthern extreme of the city and marking, so to say, the vertex of the city triangle. This point was about 2,400 feet away from the river bank. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the city proper, ex cluding the suburbs, had a circuit of about four and half miles. The city had grown in size by two-thirds of the area it occupied earlier, and the city population had spilled over into seven to eight suburbs.[17]

The city and the suburbs were enclosed within a wall which was of little resistance on the western side of the city, but the wall along the river bank separating the island from the mainland was supplemented with fortified checkposts, known as passos. There were six such passos, namely at Daugim, Gandaulim, Benasterim, Karbelly, Agsy and Narve. Of these, the outposts of Gandaulim, Benasterim and Narve required greater vigilance, because at Gandaulim the river could be easily crossed at the low tide, while Benasterim was the entry gate for all those who came from Ponda region bringing the essential supplies to the city population, and Narve was a Hindu centre of pilgrimage and crowds of Hindus from themainland flocked thither once a year for a purification bath in its sacred tirtha.[18]

Each of the above mentioned outposts had a captain, a scrivener and a garrison of forty to fifty men, whose duty was during normal times to keep an eye on those entering and leaving the island, and chiefly to prevent the escape of the runnaway slaves and others sought by justice. All persons and goods crossing

these passages were required to pay tolls, which constituted a regular source of significant revenue for the State and it more than covered the State expenditure with the maintenance of the personnel attached to those outsposts.[19] In addition to the six outposts protecting the city and the island against any mischief from the mainland side, there were another two checkposts at Ribandar and at Panjim, from where strict watch was kept over vessels that entered the river Mandovi and moved towards the city. All the vessels that entered from the sea side had to obtain clearence certificate from the Panjim check-post, while the vessels coming through Mapusa river were searched at the Ribandar outpost where special attention was paid to checking illegal transactions in slaves and weapons.[20]

The interior of the city was a maze of criss-crossing roads and alleys, most of which were named after the professions of the artisans who had their workshops along them. Thus, there were hatters' street, street of goldsmiths, street of book-sellers, street of Gujaratis, and so on.[21] Many of the streets were paved and there was quite an extensive network of drainage canals, which were sufficiently broad and deep,and they conducted the rain waters either into the lake of Karbelly at the southern end of the city or into the river.[22]

The city had no facilities of running water and the population had to avail itself of the fresh waters of the springs within the confines of the city or to utilise the house wells. There was one good spring near the hillock of Our Lady of Mount on the north-eastern fringe of the city, but a more appreciated

spring was at Bangany, which was about a quarter mile away in the western direction. It was from this spring that water was generally supplied to the city population by the slaves. Apparently the city elders were not eager to set up aqueducts in the city, because they and the other Portuguese settlers, who could earn money by employing their slaves in this service to the public, would lose such income.[23] However, a limited project was taken up in 1601 to direct the waters of a water tank to the old pillory square in order to mitigate water shortage during the hot summer months.[24] But even then the city continued to depend upon the Bangany water. The Portuguese and the half-castes did not use any other water for drinking purposes; however, the natives and the Hindu settlers depended exclusively upon their house wells.[25]

Just as the city lacked good water supply facilities, also the sanitary arrangement for the disposal of the city refuse were most primitve and far less hyeginic than in the neighbouring rural areas which had pigs to do the scavenger's job.[26] The river bank, right in from of the city, was the site assigned by the municipality for emptying the dirt pans and for the common people to discharge directly their duties of nature.[27] However, it was not uncommon to find the city dwellers following the law of least resistance and messing all over the place, so much so that the municipality authorities were called upon by the viceroy in the beginning of the seventeenth century to take immediate

measures to prevent dirt being thrown on public streets.[28] In spite of these measures the situation had worsened in the course of years, and we find that in the late seventeenth century it had become a favourite pastime of the unruly citizens to hurl pots of excrement from the house windows at the street walkers down below.[29]

To conclude the topographic survey of the city, it can be said that the low-lying situation of the city, which was surrounded towards the interior by a chain of highlands, and the porous nature of the soil served to enhance the problems created by the over-crowding of the city and by the lack of sufficient sanitary arrangements to meet them. These factors were responsible for the repeated attacks of cholera and their devastating effect, particularly in those wards of the city which were occupied by a majority of Hindus and native Christians.[30]

Urban Demography

The following survey of the city population cannot be but limited in scope and merely indicative of the general trend, because the data avilable are neither complete nor precise to warrant any firm conclusions. There are many stray references to the non-Christian business and merchant community of the city in the State records. There are references to the capitation levies imposed on them at different times, but the nature of the data provided is such that it is not possible to calculate from them the strength of the of the community concerned.

The same applies to the revenue records. Since there was the practice of farming out right of collecting revenues to private individuals, the latter alone kept up to date lists of the tax payers, and these lists are either lost or in some private collections. Our only help outside official records lies in the reports of the Religious Orders and in the accounts of the European travellers who visited Goa in the course of the seventeenth century.

According to the statistics gathered in the very first year of the seventeenth century in order to tax the Hindu population of the city there were 20,000 of them.[31] This constituted apparently one-third or so of the total city population, because the earliest information that we have for the population of the city in the seventeenth century places 5,000 households in the city and its immediate surroundings, which gives us 75,000 as an approximate figure for the toatl population, considering that each household consisted of fifteen persons, including the slaves. Of these city dwellers not more than 1,500 were Portuguese, and the rest were native Christians, Hindus and African slaves.[32] The information that is available for about twenty years later gives the total number of households as 3,000 and says it clearly that the population was reduced nearly to a third of the population in the earlier times and that several wards of the city were practically deserted.[33] The city population went on dwindling in the course of the century, and in 1658 when the Government was considering the possibility of demanding some contribution of the Hindu inhabitants of the city it was found out that their number was

about one-tenth of what it was at the beginning of the century, that is, about 200 only. And among these there were no more than seven or eight Gujarati merchants with sizable capital.[34] By the end of the seventeenth century the total population was somewhere around 20,000 and about a fourth of this number was made up of mulatos or those having a mixture of negro blood.[35]

The causes of the population decline were manifold: The religious intolerance of the Portuguese with its various restrictions upon the public celebration of the religious rites and social functions of the Hindus, and particularly the practice of taking away the Hindu orphan children from their families in order to catechize and baptize them, were responsible to some extent to drive away moneyed Hindus from Goa in the course of the seventeenth century.[36] The arrival of the English and the Dutch in India and the consequent loss of the Portuguese trade monopoly in the eastern seas further encouraged the process of desertion on the part of the Hindu merchants and traders, who abandoned the city of Goa and the other centres of the Portuguese trade to move into the new centres developed by the English and the Dutch.[37] The Dutch blockades of the Goa port, the wars with Kanara rulers, and the feeling of insecurity caused by the Maratha threats, were important factors that contributed to a large sclae emigration of the Goans, chiefly from the province of Bardez, to the neighbouring territories, particularly to Kanara, from where foodgrains were brought to Goa.

There were also the repeated attacks of epidemcis that took severe toll of the city population, particularly in those wards of the city which were occupied by a majority of Hindus and native Christians. Thus , for instance, in the cholera attack of 1570 about 900 people were affected by it in the ward of potters and nearly one-third succumbed.[38] So also after the cholera attack of 1618-19 the number of Hindu inhabitants of Santa Luzia ward was reduced from about 30,000 to little over 15,000, which could be due partly to deaths and partly to migrations.[39]

In addition to epidemics there were famines. The severe famine of 1630 which played havoc all over India also left its scar on Goa. The food scarcity was such that many were pushed into the river and died drowned owing to rush at the river-side city market.[40] There was another reported famine during the months of June-August 1648 when several persons were found dead every day on the streets of the city and its suburbs.[41]

Among the various constituent groups of the city population the Hindus were economically the predominant group. Almost all of the foreign travellers who paid long or short visits to Goa during the seventeenth century have referred to the business involvement of the Goan Hindus. They not only controlled the market by supplying goods and labour, but were also acting as State revenue farmers. In the first decade of the seventeenth century the total of the farmed revenues (rendas) amounted to 68,555 xerafins per year, and of these 62,815 or 91.7 % were ad-

ministered by Hindus. The highest investment of one single individual was 13,400 xerafins, and that was of Narsu Naik, the collector of opium tax. The second in rank was Damu Sinay, who had bought the right of collecting cloth revenue for 12,000 xerafins.[42] These are not the highest investments recorded. The tobacco revenue, which was one of the highest on the State revenue list, was generally farmed out for an average of 25,000 xerafins during the seventeenth century and the tax farmer was almost always a Hindu.[43]

One factor in favour of the Hindus was their contacts with the neighbouring lands. This was not possible nor allowed to native Christians or to the Portuguese for reasons based on religious grounds or national security. Their contacts with their business partners on the mainland enabled the Hindus to run profitably whatever business they were involved in. Besides, most of the Hindus running business in Goa or acting as State revenue farmers had their household belongings and capital on the mainland safe against the vagaries of the Portuguese administration, which too often sought funds for their war campaigns from the purses of the Hindu businessmen. These circumstances enabled the Hindus to risk large investments, because much of their money was borrowed from the locality with the promises of high interest rate. The Portuguese administration faced a permanent problem regarding these Hindu revenue farmers, who had a common tendency to cross the borders whenever they feared official action for failing to satisfy their terms of contract. It is true that they

had to present reliable sureties, but these guarantors were either Portuguese who were tempted with promises of high interest or their own relations and friends who accompanied them in the exodus. The Portuguese administration was helpless in such situations, but generally the Hindu tax-farmers would apply for a safe-conduct and return and resume their obligations as if nothing had occurred.[44]

The Hindus in Goa were not just shopkeepers and tax-farmers, but they were in every kind of trade and profession, and were much appreciated not only by their common clients but even by the Religious and State officials. While the employment of Hindu artists to produce objects of Christian worship was strictly prohibited by the provincial Church councils, the Religious Orders still preferred them for the decoration of their Churches.[45] Also the State authorities held them in high esteem as it can be concluded from the appointments made by the Public Revenue Council to the cavalry regiment of Salcete in 1683. A Christian was appointed to look after the horses and was paid three xerafins per month for every six horses he took care of. A Hindu blacksmith was enrolled to nail horse-shoes and fix the harness. His salary would be one Santhome of gold per month plus a daily measure of rice. The only reason given to justify this unequal treatment is recorded in the proceedings of the Council meetings as "he is a Hindu and must be kept satisfied".[46]

In course of time the Hindus had acquired such a control over the entire fiscal administration that on more than one occa-

sion the Government made attempts to take over the administration of certain branches of revenue but failed miserably, either because the Government did not have trained personnel to replace the services of the Hindus, or because other Hindu tax-farmers and marchants sypathyzed with their co-religionists and threatened the Government with a showdown that would paralyze the administration. Thus, for instance, in 1630's the viceroy Count of Linhares had to face the grim situation caused by the famine which had affected most of the neighbouring regions as well. The viceroy detected that the Hindu official in charge of collecting the duties on imported foodstuffs was in collusion with the retail merchants and was letting them sell foodgrain for excessively high prices. The viceroy deprived him of his job and entrusted the municipality with the task of importing and distributing foodgrain to the people at moderate prices. This measure caused an exodus of the city shopkeepers and the Government was in no position to replace their machinery of distribution. Only when the restrictions on the merchants were lifted the situation returned to normalcy.[47]

Here follows another instance of the Portuguese administration succumbing to the pressure-tactics of the Hindu revenue farmers: It happened in 1678 when the Government took over the administration of the salt revenue of Bardez. This revenue administration had been linked until then with the customs revenue. In protest against the new measure the Hindu customs tax farmer refused to cooperate with the Government appointed revenue

administrator and supply any information regarding the export of salt to the Balghat, even though he had detailed lists of people who owned oxen and the number of the oxen involved in the Goa-Balghat trade. Not long after, the Government had to relinquish the administration of the salt revenue and hand it back to the Hindu customs revenue farmer.[48] Even though the instances quoted refer sometimes to the revenues of the areas outside the city, the revenue farmers when they were Hindus had generally their residence in the city, and as such they belonged to the economically dominant Hindu group of the city population.

Another group of the city population consisted of the native Christians, who were disparagingly called Canarins by the Portuguese, were generally recruited from among the poorer sections of the natives, though not necessarily from less noble castes. Those who had belonged to well-to-do Hindu families had been disowned by their kith and kin for betraying their ancestral religion and were thus reduced to poverty. Also those who had belonged to the classes of artsans and had been doing well were alienated from the solidarity of the old fellow workers. Besides, the preference that the Portuguese showed to the non-Christian artisans and businessmen contributed to crown the heap of derision of which the converts had become victims. Conversion to Christianity had come to be regarded as invitation to beggary by the Hindus and as production of fodder for the fires of the Inquisition by the Portuguese.[49]

The share of the native Christians to the urban economy as artisans or as tax-farmers or in any other capacity was just marginal, but their services were exploited to some extent for manning State fleets and for menial works in State establishments and in private houses.[50] Some, however, had succeeded in getting education in the schools of the Religious Convents and had begun acting as legal sollicitors and as clerks of low category in various State departments.[51] There were still others, but belonging exclusively to the Brahmin caste, that sought the privileges of the clergy, but these were not granted to them in full measure by the Religious Orders that were in charge in the training institutions for the clergy and considered the ambition of the Christian niggers as preposterous.[52]

There is not enough evidence to prove that there were mass migrations of the native Christians from the surrounding villages to the city in search of jobs, but there are sufficient indications that village folks visited the city and kept it supplied with fresh vegetables, fruits and other necessities.[53]

The white population of the city can be classified into five different sub-groups, namely: 1. The married settlers known as moradores cazados; 2. The high ranking Government officials who generally returned to Portugal on completion of their term of office; 3. The soldiers that came in the ships of the carreira to serve in the East; 4. The inmates of the Religious monasteries; and finally, 5. The community of white businessmen, particularly the Portuguese Jews, who were known as Cristaos novos or gente da nacao.

The moradores cazados belonged to two distinct groups, one considering the other as socially inferior, but both shared responsibility in the city administration. The component of lesser standard consisted of mesticos or half-breeds generated by the mixed marriages encouraged by Afonso de Albuquerque in order to find a legitimate solution for the uncontrollable passions of his soldiery, as well as for creating manpower that would be acclimatized to India and would thereby reduce the dependance upon supply of manpower from Portugal. The casticos were the descendants of Portuguese parents, but born in India. These considered themselves racially superior to the former group of mesticos. Albuquerque's scheme for mixed marriages had entered rough waters during his own life time, because of the opposition of some of his colleagues who had represented to the Crown that Albuquerque's scheme would throw the Portuguese colonial empire in the East into the hands of the dregs of the Portuguese society, because only such people had begun taking advantage of the scheme.[54] It was then that orphan girls began to be sent regularly to India in the annual fleets: The new scheme was aimed at relieving the burden of the growing number of Portuguese families that were losing their bread-earning members in the national adventure of colonial expansion, and at the same time it would help retaining in India the blood purity of the ruling race. The schem[e] was made attractive to the Portuguese in India by granting different kinds of jobs to those who chose to marry these orphan girls.[55]

The important administrative posts in India, such as that of the viceroy, the chief revenue superintendent, the judges of the High Court, the chief secretary, and some other jobs were reserved to fidalgos and high ranking nobles who came to India with the sole idea of amassing wealth. None of them entertained the desire of settling down in India, but they looked forward to their return home with improved finances. When calamities befell the Portuguese in India during the seventeenth century and took away all the former glamour of their eastern empire, the viceroys in India could not find sufficient number of fidalgos to fill the responsible posts that were falling vacant.[56]

The community of soldiers at Goa was never very large and there were never at any single time during the seventeenth century more than a few hundreds ready to take up arms at any emergency call.[57] The number of the India-bound ships that left Portugal during the seventeenth century had dwindled to nearly half from that of the previous century, and the average per year had fallen from seven to four approximately.[58] The involvement of the Portuguese in war with the Dutch rebels against the Spanish rule in Europe took a severe toll of the financial resources and the fighting population of Poptugal. These factors combined with harsh treatment, unrewarding payment, and the unimaginable hardships of the journey discouraged volunteers for the manning of the Portuguese Indiamen. The shortage of men had thus become a chronic problem during the seventeenth century, and a solution to

it was found in the practice of emptying the prisons of Portugal.[59]

Over one third of the men that embarked at Lisbon normally succumbed during the journey and the remaining had to undergo a long or short period of hospitalization on reaching Goa. Once at Goa, if the ship could not immediately return to Portugal, the municipality took care of the crew men during the winter, but the soldiers were left to fend for themselves. The State would feed them freely and pay them a small salary during the five months of summer when they were required to embark in the coastal fleets, but during the remaining part of the year some who had relatives in India went to stay with them, others crossed the borders and went to offer their services to the native rulers, others still made friends with some local women and lived with them at their cost, and there were quite many who found a solution to their economic insecurity in the clerical gowns and under the Convent roofs.[60] The soldiers were known as soldados which meant bachelors in common parlance, because the casados or married settlers were not compelled to military service and were distinguished from the former by a cloak they wore.[61]

In the Portuguese seaborne empire, which has justly been called "a military and maritime enterprise cast in an ecclesiastical mould", the clergy constituted the most powerful section of the white population.[62] The privileges of the clergy had their source in the so-called Crown Patronage (padroado real) whereby the Roman Pontiffs expected the Portuguese Crown to promote the

expansion of Christianity in its expanding national jurisdiction.[63] Goa, which had been granted metropolitan archbishopric, had become the become the headquarters of the missionary activities in the entire Portuguese empire, and there were set up Religious monasteries which trained missionaries for the vast field. The sixteenth century may be called the heydey of the Portuguese missionary expansion in the East, but during the seventeenth century the Crown was beginning to realize that in the process of preaching the Gospel the Religious Orders had departed from the evangelical poverty and had grown wealthy beyond the limit of tolerance in the context of the financial straits of the State and its lay citizens. Widespread contacts of the missionaries, plus the accumulation of capital in the hands of the organized managements, permitted the Religious Orders to multiply their capital in commercial transactions, while the limited capital of the lay individuals and the highly corrupt State machinery offered no scope of any profitable trade to these parties.[64] In order to promote a more just and equitable distribution of wealth, the State legislation tried to stop the multiplication of the Religious houses, prevent the clergy from acquiring more and more landed properties by influencing the last wills, and punish the businessmen who cooperated in the trade activities of the clerical merchants.[65] The State was also caught in a problem caused by the soldiers, who on their arrival to India sought to escape military service by entering the monasteries. It is noted in a record of complaints of the State officials that in 1636

there were altogether 1,730 men in different Religious Orders in the Portuguese State of India, while the number of the soldiers to defend the State did not reach that figure.[66]

Finally, the fifth and the most important section of the white population for the economy of the city consisted of various European nationalities, but more particularly of the Portuguese Jews. The importance of the latter group can be best understood in the general context of the national economy of Portugal, whose experiments in discoveries and overseas expansion had received a boost and had gained quick success due to a very large extent to the exodus of Jews from Spain and their inflow into Portugal with their capital and skills.[67] The same anti-semitic policy of Spain was extended to Portugal following the amalgamation of the two crowns, and this was greatly responsible for the rapid decline of the Portuguese trade even before the arrival of the North European rivals in India.[68]

It is not possible to determine even approximately the number of the European businessmen settled at Goa, neither that of the Portuguese Jews, at any time during the seventeenth century. In 1606 the Portuguese Government imposed a ban on foreigners visiting and living in Portuguese overseas possessions, excepting the islands of Azores and Madeira, after one year from the proclamation of the order.[69] We know that Pyrard de Laval was caught under this order, and so was a Fleming trader Jacques de Couttre and his brother. This is known from the accounts they themselves have left.[70] However, the execution of the decree

could not have been very strict because we find eight Genoese merchants and businessmen settled in Goa offering a loan of 50,000 cruzados to the State in 1625 for the purchase of cargo for the Lisbon-bound ships.[71] Also the correspondence of the Goa municipality authorities with the Crown during the first three decades of the seventeenth century and even later contains complaints against the New Christians living in the Goa city and monopolizing its trade, thereby preventing the Portuguese settlers from investing their limited capital profitably.[72] It indicates that in spite of the bans on the Jews and other foreigners, they were too essential for the urban economy of Goa and for the general economy of Portugal to be ferreted out that easily. This is made clear by the chief secretary of the Portuguese Indian administration when he wrote to the King in 1636 that the Jews residing in Goa were on the whole well behaved, generous, and very useful to the royal exchequer. He further added that the State would be never in position to equip several fleets in the past were it not for the loans of the Jewish businessmen. He also praised the generosity of the Jews in sheltering and feeding the soldiers who arrived from Portugal and had nowhere to go, and accused the Portuguese settlers of doing nothing of this sort.[73]

Finally, the last section of the city population, but not less important whether numerically or economically, consisted of the slaves, who were the social underdogs providing cheap labour. A comparatively small number of slaves was State-owned and these

were employed in the galleys and in the gunpowder manufactory.[74] Most of the other slaves in the city were owned by the Portuguese, who had invested nearly a million cruzados only in the slaves they had acquired from Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[75] The author of the Decada XIII and the chronicler of the Portuguese State of India, Antonio Bocarro, writes that the number of slaves owned by the Portuguese settlers was estimated at ten per household in 1635. He refers also to natives owning slaves.[76] The Italian doctor, Gemeli Careri, who visited Goa in 1695, found the city of Goa teeming with mulatos or the descendants of the negro slaves crossed with the Portuguese. According to him, they must have formed at least one fourth of the city population.[77]

The slaves were obtained from different parts of Asia and Africa. In the beginning, large bulk of slaves arrived from Japan, Macao, Bengal and East Africa, where the native agents captured people from the interior and sold them to the Portuguese traders who visited those regions. The slave trade of the Portuguese in Japan and Macao was halted when the Jesuit missionaries, entrusted with the task of preaching Christianiy to these countries found it difficult to convince the natives of the Christian love at a time when they were experiencing the barbarities of the slave traders, who were co-religionists of the missionaries. The Jesuits brought pressure upon the Goa administration and had laws enacted banning all illicit forms of slavery practised by the Portuguese in the above mentioned lands of the

Far East.[78] Also the slave traffic in Bengal subsided after the atrocities perpetrated by the Portuguese invited the wrath of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, who destroyed the Portuguese settlement at Hughly and carried away thousands of the Portuguese men, women and children captives to Agra.[79] The slave traffic then concentrated on East Africa. There is no way of checking the numbers of slaves that arrived from thither every year, but one single frigate that came from Mosambique to Goa in 1683 had brought 207 negro slaves. They had been purchased by different persons at Goa and some belonged to the crew members of the frigate who enjoyed the privilege of bringing a fixed number of slaves duty free while others had to pay a freight charge of five xerafins per slave.[80] A limited number of slaves was obtained by capturing Muslim vessels that visited Mecca every year or any other vessels that failed to comply with the Portuguese passport regulations. The captives were either sent to the galleys and gunpowder manufactory, or they were sold at the slave-market on the rua direita of the city.[81] The law did not allow the Portuguese to enslave the natives of Goa, but we do come across references in the records to low-caste natives called kunbis being enslaved and deported en masse to Ceylon to cultivate lands there.[82] It may be that the Portuguese at Goa could not possibly keep slaves belonging to the same land, but we have no records to definite evidence either to conclude that Goan natives were included in the number of the Indian slaves that were sent to Portugal in the yearly trips of the Indiamen.[83]

As we have said, the slaves constiuted cheap labour power and the wealth of the Portuguese in India was calculated from the number of slaves they owned. The male slaves were generally required to do all kinds of tough menial jobs or to help in the construction works. Their most common occupation was to carry water from the Bangany spring and to bear palanquins and parasols. The male slaves were also employed by their masters to punish their enemies and rivals. There were always many runaway slaves who were a menace to public safety and the Government was even forced to take stiff measures to control their movements outdoors after sunset. We know that during the viceroyalty of Filipe Mascarenhas (1646-51) nearly 250 kaffirs were slaughtered overnight for desobeying the restrictions imposed on them.[84]

The female slaves attended their female owners and nursed their children if necessary. The more attractive ones were engaged with selling stitch-work and pickles along the city streets. Many of them also sold liquor in the town and made cash through prostitution. The female slaves were also used by their owners as intermediaries to convey messages to their secret lovers and to gratify their sexual desires in many other ways by evading the watchful eyes of their over-jealous husbands, who kept them confined to their house walls.[85] The Portuguese gentlemen were no less guilty in this regard, and we read in a Jesuit report that there were innumerable Portuguese in India who bought droves of slaves and slept with all of them.[86]

The slaves were often subjected to most cruel treatment if

they displeased their masters, and there were instances of slaves being beaten to death and buried in the backyards.[87] Most slaves received little care or no care at all if they fell sick.[88] The slaves could not easily run away from their cruel masters, because there was an official slave-retriever in the pay of the municipality and it was not easy to escape the vigilance of those who guarded the passages to the mainland.[89] The preaching and the influence of the Catholic Church was the only solace and a source of mitigation to their sufferings.[90]

NOTES

1. Barros, Dec. II, Liv. V, Cap. II, 455; Castanheda, Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India, Liv. III, Cap. VIII, 21; APO-BP, Tomo IV, Vol. I, P.1: 498-500.
2. Correa, Lendas, II, Lisboa, 1860, 55; Gray (ed.), The Commentaries of the Great Affonso Dalboquerque, II, London, 1877, 92; Castanheda, op. cit., 21; Barros, op. cit., 453; Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, 125.
3. Dames (ed.), The Book of Duarte Barboza, I, 174-5.
4. APO-BP, T.IV, Vol. I, P.1: 403; Barros, op. cit., 466; Castanheda, op. cit., 25.
5. APO-BP, T.IV, Vol. I, P.1: 385-7.
6. Correa, Lendas, III, Lisboa, 1861, 342.
7. Pyrard, II, 34-9; AHU: India, Caixa 13, doc. 5 (8.1.1638).
8. Grey (ed.), The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India, I, 157.
9. APO-BP, T.IV, Vol. II, P.1: 222; Pyrard, op. cit., 37-9.
10. Pyrard, op. cit., 9-19, 40-2; HAG: MS 7766, fls. 33v-35.
11. APO-BP, loc. cit.
12. Pyrard, op. cit., 49-50; Hamilton, A New Account of the East Indies, I, 140.
13. Ibid.
14. Fonseca, op. cit., 245-6: The erection of the Church was ordered by Affonso de Albuquerque in 1513 and he was buried there when he expired on his rturn from Hurmuz in 1515.
15. Ibid.: Affonso de Albuquerque himself had ordered forty-eight shops to be built in the vicinity of the Holy House of Mercy in order that a part of their income might be applied to the support of the Church and its Chaplain, and the remaining to the maintenance of some Eurasian orphans, as well as to remunerating

the judges of the city. Cf. Pyrard, II, 37; Comentarios de Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, I, 176 on bazarinho and fish market.

16. Fonseca, op. cit., 247; Pyrard, op. cit., II, 44.

17. Ibid., 48.

18. Ibid., 30-1; APO-CR, IV, 188-9; V, Suppl. 2: docs. 35, 119; Comentarios, I, 212: During his two and half years of stay in Goa the author attended the festival twice, once on August 15, 1515, and the second time on August 4, 1616. He reports that on the first occasion there were nearly 16,000 people of all ages attending the festival.

19. Pyrard, op. cit., 31-2; AHU: India, MS 219: According to this register of Goa revenues for the years 1621-6 the annual income of the Daugim and Narve outposts was farmed out for 1870 xerafins and the expenditure of the two garrisons amounted only to 1031-4-20 (=xerafins- tangas - reis). The income of the Benasterim check-post was 1400 xerafins and the pay of the garrison was 710 xerafins. The income of the Agsy check-post was 2100 xerafins and its expenditure did not exceed 549 xerafins. The check-post of Karbelly did not have a permanent garrison and the captain was paid out of the revenues of the Agsy check-post. The excess revenue was used to pay several other Government officials.

20. HAG: MS 7738 (Acordaos da Camara, 1629-32), fls. 213v-15 gives details of the standing order issued by the viceroy Count of Linhares to the chief coastal guard of the Panjim bay; APO-CR, V, doc. 757 contains the standing order to be observed by the thanadar of the Kibandar outpost.

21. Cf. Appendix II h (Companion Volume).

22. HAG: MS 7832 (Livro de termos das obras, 1654-5), fls. 9-9v: On March 24, 1654 the repairing of the drainage consisting of 13 canals was auctioned to Mathew Pires for a sum of 140 xe-

rafins. The terms of the contract made it clear that the clearing should be done in such a way that a person may be able to freely walk through them in an upright position. Cf. Pyrard, op. cit., II, 48.

23. Pyrard, op. cit., 55.

24. Cf. Appendix II d (Companion Volume).

25. Pyrard, op. cit., 56.

26. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fls. 72v-73: The city regulations did not permit anyone to rear pigs or to let pigs move within the city limits or even in its suburbs.

27. APO-CR, II, doc. 51.

28. Cf. Appendix II e (Companion Volume).

29. AR, I, 330, 370; Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, 173.

30. Boxer, PSE, 133.

31. HAG: Moncoes 8, fl. 178v.

32. Comentarios, I, 167.

33. APO-BP, T.IV, Vol. II, P.1: 222, 261.

34. HAG: Moncoes 26B, fls. 408-408v.

35. Sen (ed.), Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, 187.

36. Priolkar, The Goa Inquisition, 114-49.

37. AHU: India, Caixa 29, doc. 34 (24.viii. 1672); Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 283-4.

38. Wicki, DI, VIII, 316-9.

39. ARSJ: Goa 33, II, fls. 500, 718.

40. HAG: Moncoes 14, fl. 47v.

41. ARSJ: Goa 34, II, fls. 406-110.

42. HAG: MS 1183 (Provisoes dos Vice-reis, n.1), fls. 167-77.

43. HAG: MS 1370 (Fiancas n.2), fl.191; MS 1371 (Fiancas n.3), fls. 16, 75v; MS 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda, n.1), fl. 80v; Moncoes 52, fl. 338v.

44. APO-CR, Suppl. 2: 64-5, 174-5: The Hindu tax farmers promised to pay their guarantors the highest permissible rate of 10 %. Cf. HAG: Moncoes 26B, fl. 407; Moncoes 19C, fl. 918v; Pissurlencar, ACE, III, 246; IV, 116, 119, 129-30, 419-20 contain references to impositions on Hindus during the seventeenth century. A permanent capitation tax of the Muslim Jizya type was introduced at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it was known as Xenddi-tax: Cf. T.R. de Souza, "Xenddi Tax: A Phase in the History of Luso-Hindu Relations in Goa, 1704-1841". Regarding the Hindu tax-farmers crossing into the mainland and asking for safe conducts to return, Cf. HAG: ACF, passim.

45. APO-CR, IV, 24-5, 45-6; HAG: MS 2785 (Despezas do Convento da Graca), fls. 130-30v.

46. HAG: MS 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda), fl. 143v.

47. HAG: Moncoes 14, fls. 46-8; MS 7738 (Acordaos do Senado, 1629-32), fls. 199-204.

48. HAG: MS 1127, fls. 21v-22, 49-50; MS 1128, fl. 141v.

49. HAG: Moncoes 69, fl. 158; Moncoes 81, fl. 178.

50. Pyrard, op. cit., 19, 36, 90; Linschoten, I, 260, 271; APO-CR, VI, docs. 236, 520; HAG: MS 1169 (ACF, XI), 190v; Monooes 19A, fl. 128.

51. APO-BP, T. IV, Vol. II, P.1: 261-2; Crooke (ed.), Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, I, 156.

52. Pyrard, op. cit., 47; De Melo, The Recruitment and formation of the native clergy in India, 129 ff.; Boxer, Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 65-9.

53. AHU: India, Caixa 3, doc. 19 (22.i.1615); Cf. also n. 50 supra.

54. Silva Rego, Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente: India, 174-85; Amancio Gracias, "Os Primeiros cruzamentos europeus na India", BIVG, n.1, 1926; Baiao (ed.), Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, 140.

55. Adolfo Costa, "Orfas d'el-rei", BIVG, n.17, 1940; APO-CR, I, P.1:81, 101, 109; III, 78, 90, 161-2, 203, 207, 282, 501, 715, 720; V, 999-1000; VI, 1301-2.

56. HAG: Moncoes 55B, fl. 438.

57. HAG: Moncoes 18, fl. 99 (7.x.1633): The viceroy writes to the Crown that in the beginning of the seventeenth century there were 14,000 soldiers in India, but that he could not count more than 1,500. Cf. also Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 36; IV, 53, 62, 97; Boxer, PSE, 53.

58. Magalhaes Godinho, Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial, II, 77-9: While a total of 705 ships left for India in the sixteenth century, the number of ships that left for India in the seventeenth century was only 384.

59. AHU: MS 33, fls. 43-43v; India, Caixa 11, doc. 53 (20.ii.1635).

60. Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 30-41, IV, 100; Pyrard, op. cit., 92-100; Couto, Soldado Pratico, 214-8.

61. Pyrard, op. cit., 95.

62. Boxer, PSE, 75.

63. Silva Rego, O Padroado Portugues do Oriente, Lisboa, 1940; Paiva Manso, Bullarium Patronatus Portugaliae Regum, 5 vols., Lisboa, 1868-79; Fortunato Coutinho, Le Regime Paroissial des Dioceses de Rite Latin de l'Inde, Louvain, 1958; Boxer, PSE, 230-50.

64. Boxer, op. cit., 329-32; Meilink-Roelofsz, Asian Trade and European Influence, 130-31.

65. On reducing the number of Religious houses and their inmates,

Cf. TdT: DRI 32, fl. 158; DRI 33, fls. 144, 207; HAG: HAG: Moncoes 12, fls. 50-2; APO-CR, VI, 843, 1102-3; AR, I, 178, 238-9. On preventing the Religious houses from acquiring more land properties, Cf. APO-CR, V, 1280-1; VI, 888; AR, I, 452; HAG: Moncoes 19C, fls. 734v-6v. On curtailing the trade of the Religious, Cf. APO-CR, VI, 892-3, 939; AR, I, 84; AHU: India, Caixa 27, doc. 28 (28.i.1666).

66. Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 32, 36.

67. Livermore, A New History of Portugal, 125-7, 133-4, 164-5; Boxer, PSE, 270-4; Meilink-Roelofsz, op. cit., 131.

68. Loc. cit.

69. HAG: Moncoes 6A, fl. 106; AR, I, 216.

70. Pyrard, op. cit., 201; BNM: MS 2780 (Vida de Jaques de Coutre), fl. 231v.

71. AHU: India, Caixa 8, doc. 192 (26.vi.1625).

72. APO-CR, I, P.1: 102, 106, 112, 119, 121; P.2: 44, 57, 64-5, 204-5; AHU: India, Caixa 4, doc. 138 (6.1.1617), doeCaixa 6, doc. 32 (14.ii.1619); HAG: Moncoes 20, fl. 28 (1.xii.1634).

73. TdT: DRI 36, fls. 252-3.

74. Magalhaes Godinho, op. cit., II, 584; HAG: MS 1129 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda n.3), fls. 138-39; MS 1370 (Fiancas, n.2), fl. 159v; AHU: India, Caixa 5, doc. 64 (1.i. 1618).

75. APO-CR, I, P.2: 127.

76. APO-BP, T. IV, Vol. II, P.1: 222-3.

77. Cf. n. 35 supra.

78. APO-CR, V, 791-3; Wicki (ed.), O Livro do Pai dos Cristaos, 90-3, 329-31. Cf. Supra n. 75

79. Maclagan, The Jesuits and the Great Mogul, 99-105; Campos, History of the Portuguese in Bengal, 128-40; Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, 421.

80. HAG: MS 2316 (Feitorias), fl. 117.

81. HAG: Moncoes 14, fls 282, 319-9v.

82. HAG: MS 1164 (ACF, V), fls. 164-5; HAG: MS 860 (Cartas de alforria), fl. 3 contains a reference to a slave of chardo caste, which indicates that even high caste natives were occasionally enslaved.

83. Mendes Luz, "Regimento da Caza da India", AJIC, VI, T.II, 145-6; HAG: Moncoes 22A, fls. 201-3; Pissurlencar, Regimentos das Fortalezas, 85 ff. It was customary to allow the high ranking ship crew of the carreira to take to Portugal a definite number of male slaves without paying customs duty, and sometimes free of freight charges as well. Cf. APO-CR, VI, 789 (23.ix.1606), 1153 (29.x.1618): Decrees were issued forbidding taking of slaves with less than 16 years of age and female slaves of any age.

84. AR, I, 13-6; II, 547; HAG: Moncoes 46A, fls. 499-9v; Manucci, op. cit., III, 163-4.

85. HAG: MS 7856 (Livro dos termos das fiancas), passim: several references to slaves selling arrack in the city. Cf. Pyrard, op. cit., 52; Linschoten, I, 209-10; Mandelslo's Travels, 80; The Travels of Pietro della Valle, I, 161; Travels in India of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, I, 151; Manucci, op. cit., III, 157 ff.

86. Silva Rego, DMP, VII, 32-8.

87. Cf. Appendix II b, j (Companion Volume).

88. Loc. cit. Cf. also APO-CR, IV, 269-70; Wicki, DI, IV, 750, 793.

89. Cf. Appendix II c (Companion Volume).

90. HAG: MS 860, passim: The Father of the Christians attended to the welfare of the converts, including slaves. He looked into the title which their masters claimed for their captivity and fixed the terms of their indentured labour.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES

Establishment of City Administration

After conquering Goa Albuquerque did not delay measures aimed at consolidating his hold upon the new acquistion. The mixed marriages which he encouraged had this purpose. They were aimed at generating manpower acclimatized to India and attached simultaneously to the home country and to the colonial residence. Initially Albuquerque encouraged marriages by offering cash dowries at the cost of the public exchequer and by making grants of lands.[1] To these attractions he soon added the offer of offices pertaining to the city administration. The Portuguese chronicler Barros writes that before Albuquerque left Goa for Malacca in January 1512 he had organized the city administration and selected gentlemen (homens bons) with sufficient aptitude from among the married settlers to act as aldermen, market inspectors, justices of the peace, police constables and so on.[2] This account of Barros finds confirmation in a letter of Albuquerque himself. He wrote to the King of Portugal on December 3, 1513: "The posts of city captain, head constable and factory clerk have been given to men sent by Your Majestey, but the other jobs of the city administration are entrusted to the Portuguese gentlemen married at Goa".[3]

Although it is not possible to pinpoint the date of the establishment of the Goa municipal council with the help of the extant records, there is ample evidence to form a precise idea

of its nature and development and policies.

First and foremost, there is a charter of privileges granted by Albuquerque himself to the city officials. This is known through its copy sent to Lisbon in 1515 for royal confirmation.[4] The initial clauses of this charter describe the structure that the muncipal organization was to have, and they indicate that it was modelled largely after its metropolitan prototype. This fact is significant because it reflects the importance that Albuquerque attached to Goa. There were other municipal councils set up in the Portuguese eastern empire, but they were given constitutions of the municipal councils of Oporto or Evora.[5] Goa city was also declared to be realenga, which meant an inalienable possession of the Portuguese Crown, and this was done years before it was made the headquarters of the Government of the Portuguese State of India.[6]

The charter clauses determining the structure of the municipal administration state that the aldermen and justices of the peace should be elected every year and the market inspectors every month. The artisans are directed to have a body of twenty-four representatives to direct their affairs, and the House of the Twenty-Four (Caza dos Vinte Quatro) was to elect four representatives to be on the municipal board for promoting the welfare of the labouring classes. All the officials are entitled to carry red wands of office with royal coat of arms at one end and the wheel of St. Catherine's martyrdom at the other end of the wand.[7]

The privilege clauses of the same charter determined among other things that there can be no appeal against the judgement of the market inspectors beyond the municipal board. The married settlers could not be imprisoned in public jails while in municipality office. The citizens serving municipality offices were granted some kind of privative justice. All the citizens were allowed to navigate freely and to bring foodstuffs and other goods to the city (franquia) without paying any import taxes. All the municipality offices were reserved to the Portuguese married settlers, excepting those reserved to the Crown appointees. The married settlers were exempted from any exclusive tax impositions or loan demands by the State authorities. The married settlers were free to sell, if they wished, any of their movable and immovable properties, including whatever they might have received by way of dowry from the State, provided the buyers were not Muslims or Hindus. The city captain was to swear respect to the city privileges on taking office, and he was given two votes during the proceedings of the municipal council meetings, but he was instructed also to use his rights and privileges to contribute towards smooth administration of the city.[8]

All the above provisions of the charter granted by Afonso de Albuquerque to the citizens of the Goa municipality were confirmed by the Crown on March 2, 1518, but with a few clarifications and reservations. Thus, for instance, the citizens were not granted exemption from contributing to the works of public utility. They were not allowed also to trade freely in

prohibited goods, such as spices. The State authorities were also left with discretionary powers to deprive a citizen of his office and to confiscate his belongings, but only in such cases for which those punishments were normally inflicted in Portugal.[9]

Municipal Evolution at Goa in the Sixteenth Century

Goa city developed greater administrative complexity after the transfer of the seat of Government from Cochin to Goa in 1530. The city also grew in size, in population, and in commercial traffic. This growth led to a kind of identity crisis on the part of the municipal administrators, who began facing challenges to their privileges and decisions. There was a strong central Government established now as the headquarters of the entire Portuguese State of India, which extended from East Africa to the Far East, including all the Portuguese centres of influence situated therein. The city councillors were finding many of their demands being rejected or resisted on the part of the Government authorities as preposterous and irreconcilable with the wider interests of the State. This situation reflected the conflict that was common to Europe of the mercantilist age between the municipal exclusivism of the towns and the nationalism of the developing States.[10]

Until 1530 the municipal council and the city captain had been the sole representatives of the Portuguese authority to the Goan natives. An instance of the change in the situation can be presented here to illustrate the crisis of authority faced by the Goa municipal council thereafter. A Crown reply

to the municipality councillors dated March 26, 1532, contained the following answer to some complaints of the Portuguese city-dwellers of Goa: "You have written to me about an order issued by Afonso Mexia and confirmed by the Chief Captain and Governor Lopo Vas to the effect that no Portuguese city-dweller may buy any lands or palm groves that belong to a non-Christian inhabitant of the Goa island. Your request is that I should not object to anyone selling what is his or to anyone buying what is sold in this manner, provided the State receives its dues. I have no other information than what you have written to me. I am writing to Nuno da Cunha, my Chief Captain and Governor of India, to inform me about the motives behind the Governor's order against which you have represented."[11]

As a result of this identity crisis the city council got its powers and privileges defined with greater clarity and precision. A revised charter of privileges was thus issued by King Sebastian in 1559. It declared inter alia that the citizens elected to hold any post in the city administration would have right to be treated as grandsons of the royal family as regards the privilege of exemption from imprisonment in public gaol. The charter recognized the judicial control of the city elders over those appointed by them to any city office, but it left the aggrieved party to seek redress through the regular channels of State judiciary. The clerks of the municipality and the clerks of the attorneys for the orphans were empowered to act as public notaries in matters pertaining to their offices. The city council could assign places or streets to the city artisans and merchants,

and it could enact the necessary market regulations. The vessels bringing goods and food supplies to the city could not be diverted by the State authorities to any other place unless it was so required by urgent needs of the empire. The city aldermen and other officials, including workers' representatives, could decide in council meetings to make grants of waste lands that were not requistioned by the State. The city elders were also granted jurisdiction over all cases of verbal offences within the city limits.[12]

After the city had obtained the confirmation of its privileges, it sought to do away with the recurring doubts regarding election procedure and functions of the city councillors and of various other subordinate officials of the city administration. This was done by sending a 12-point questionnaire to the municipal council of Lisbon.[13] The answers received from Lisbon do not conform in all things with the procedure that prevailed in Goa, although the instructions received from Lisbon were enforced by a decree of the viceroy Dom Luis de Ataide "in full and without alteration".[14] This same decree was confirmed in 1577, in 1582, and again in 1641.[15] The Lisbon system was substantially followed in Goa, but the records of the Goa municipality help us to describe the organization and working of the municipality administration with its regional peculiarities and variations.

Composition and Functions of the Municipal Council

The presence of the city captain in the municipal council of Goa was one of its peculiarities. The city captain was an ex-officio member of the council with right for two votes. His pre-

sence, however, was not very much appreciated by his colleagues in the municipal council. In a letter written to the Crown in 1602 the councillors explained that the city captain was invited to join the city council in olden times when there were few citizens to administer the city and there was also the need of using the position of the city captain to uphold more effectively the privileges and rights of the citizens. In the course of time, they wrote, the presence of the city captain had become more a hindrance than a help for the good administration of the city. Two reasons were put forth to justify this complaint. Firstly, the city captain used his two votes, as a rule, to provide city jobs to his own favourites. And, secondly, he often acted as an agent of the viceroy by revealing to him matters that were discussed in the municipality chamber and thing that were written to the Crown in secrecy regarding the State administration.[16]

In spite of the above complaints of the other councillors, the city captain continued to participate in the city administration with his rights and privileges as before. The only concession made in favour of the other councillors was a permission granted to them in 1655 by the viceroy Count of Sarzedas to effect appointments to the city offices even if the captain was not present at the meetings after a prior intimation.[17]

The other officials that constituted the municipal council and enjoyed decision-making powers were altogether ten in number and were elected once a year. These were: Three aldermen (vereadores), two justices of the peace (juizes ordinarios), one city attorney (procurador da cidade), and four workers' representatives

(procuradores dos mesteres).

The first six of the above ten officials were elected through a complicated system of balloting. General elections were conducted every three years. All citizens were summoned to the Town Hall by the secretary of the council during the last week of the last month of the year. The Crown judge of the city (corregedor da comarca or ouvidor geral) officiated over the proceedings and six electors were chosen by the majority vote of the assembly of the citizens. These six electors were generally from among the prominent citizens and they were administered the oath of the Holy Gospels. The six electors were then separated into three batches of two each and instructed to draw up three lists (pautas) of the candidates for the various city posts during the three years to come.[18]

The lists were collected and scrutinized by the Crown judge to ensure that none of the persons nominated for office in any given year were closely related to each other by ties of blood or of interest.[19] The lists were then sealed with red sealing wax by the secretary of the council and taken to the viceroy who had right to inspect them once again. Sometimes the viceroys did not just inspect them, but would even introduce their own candidates or determine which candidates should serve during each of the three years.[20]

The triennial election lists were kept in an *election coffer* of the municipality house. It was opened once a year on the New Year's Day or on the New Year's Eve to determine who would replace the outgoing officials at the end of the year. A small

Portuguese boy was called out at randon from among the passers-by and asked to draw the names inscribed on paper slips from different bags representing different categories of the municipality offices. The new officials were then invested into office with an oath of the Holy Gospels and with a promise to safeguard the rights of the people, to attend truthfully to the service of God and of the Crown, and to observe secrecy regarding matters discussed in the municipality chamber.[21]

From the point of view of class domination, the city administration was a preserve and ghetto of white settlers. A royal edict of 1542 had made it very clear that "the offices of aldermen, judges, procurator, secretary, almotacels, and workers' representatives, in whom the control and the administration of the city of Goa are vested, should always be taken from among the married men and heads of households, who are Portuguese by nationality and birth and not from among those of any other nationality, birth, and quality whatsoever."[22]

In addition to the above qualifications, it was also required that the candidates should be old Christians and not from Jewish descent. However, in spite of these clear injunctions, the convert Jews were not always kept out of the city administration, and the offices were often retained within closed circles.[23] There is evidence also of conflict between the fidalgos and the noblemen in the city of Goa, and the latter did not look happily at the superiority complex of the former.[24]

It was also determined by a municipality accord that in order to be elected alderman a candidate should have served ear-

lier as market inspector and justice of the peace, or as city attorney. This prerequisite was not applicable to the fidalgos from among whom was elected one of the three aldermen.[25]

Anyone elected to serve in any office of the municipality was not free to accept it or to decline the offer.[26] The above mentioned accord of the municipality had also enacted that a citizen who refused to take up the office for which he was elected whould be declared ineligible to any other office in future and would not have any say in the assembly of the citizens. He would also be condemned to pay 200 cruzados as fine and undergo two years of exile.[27] In actual practice this severe legislation was not easily enforced. Thus, for instance, in 1602 a certain fidalgo, Dom Diogo Coutinho, elected to serve as alderman declined alleging illness. When the other councillors found out that he was coming from his distant residence in Salcete for treatment and for the Lenten services of the Church to the city, they condemned him to undergo the customary penalties. When the viceroy showed himself reluctant to execute their sentence, the councillors closed the municipality chamber, the market control room and the slaughter-house. They even threatened to lay down their offices. The viceroy did not yield to their pressure and got them to elect a new alderman.[28]

In 1650 the municipality had requested the Crown to let one of the three aldermen continue in office for another term for maintaining some continuity in the functioning.[29] The viceroy Count of Obidos, when consulted by the Crown on the issue, judged the step unncessary on the grounds that there were always persons

of experience available.[30] A significant change in the composition of the municipal council was introduced in 1654 when a royal decree ordered that the council would thereafter have two aldermen from among fidalgos and only one nobleman.[31] Apparently the protests of the noblemen obtained a reversion of the order in 1665.[32]

The frequency of the meetings of the municipal council was determined by the pressure of work. The meetings were chaired by one of the three aldermen for a period of one month. The chairing alderman was known as alderman of the centre (vereador do meio). The chairing was done by rotation after the first chairman was elected by lot. One to sit at his right and to succeed him on the chair was also selected by lot.[33]

While the chairing alderman of the month was left with an overall supervision of the municipality affairs, the other two aldermen had to attend regularly to the judicial cases brought to them by the market inspectors or by private parties. This they normally did twice a week with the assistance of the two justices of the peace.[34] They decided the cases verbally and their decisions were final in matters regarding the violation of market regulations. In matters relating to property disputes or personal injuries, their decisions were subject to appeal to the nearest Crown judge of to the High Court.[35]

The work of the city attorney was to defend the interests of the city corporation before the State Government and before the individual citizens. In fighting the municipality cases he was attended by a syndic. Before finalizing any contracts for

farming out rights of any revenue collection, or before announcing any changes in currency, the Government was expected to notify the city attorney and seek the opinion of the city councillors about the terms of the contracts or about any proposed innovations.[36] The city attorney had to be present at all the meetings of the municipal council and bring to the attention of the councillors whatever he deemed necessary for the city welfare.[37]

The four representatives of the workers were elected by the House of the Twenty-Four, which controlled the affairs of the artisans organized in craft guilds. After being elected they were presented in the municipality chamber by the Judge of the People, who was the head of the House of the Twenty-Four. The workers' representatives did not sit along with the other councillors, but they had a separate bench for themselves facing the three aldermen. They voted in all matters, except in the judicial cases brought before the municipality.[38] They had right to sign all the documents of the municipality, as well as the letters addressed to the Crown. The right was maintained in spite of the tendency of the other councillors to consider them as upstarts and as men of little intelligence and incapable of conducting the business with necessary secrecy.[39]

For performing a variety of the other functions of the city administration there were many subordinate officials and servants appointed by the municipal council. This fact reminds us again of the mercantilist policy of the medieval towns, which employed its burghers to control almost every possible town activity.[40] Goa municipality records refer to over thirty categories of such

services. The chief of them pertaining directly to the running of the city administration were the council secretary, the foreman of public works, the judge of the market square and the market inspectors. Whatever pertains to the market organization and administration is left to be covered at length in the next chapter. Here it will suffice to mention the functions of the other servants and their functions.

The municipality secretary acted also as its clerk and standard-bearer on the occasions when the municipality officials had to attend certain public processions and festivities. It was a salaried job, and he received extra allowances as standard-bearer.[41] The foreman of public works had to look after the building and maintenance of the public streets, city drainage, water supply and the city walls and defences.[42]

The other offices for which their beneficiaries did not receive any salaries, but had to be contented with perquisites, were: The city accountant and his clerk; the judges of the orphans and their clerks; the city tax-collector and his clerk; the appraiser of the houses and land property; the police constables and their clerks; the judges of the suburban villages; the treasurer, nayak and clerk of the 1%, consulado and collecta revenues[43]; the syndic and the sollicitor of the municipality; the slave-retriever; the city brokers; the watchman of the municipality house; the superintendent of city cleanliness; the teachers of suburban schools; the captains of the flotilla equipped with collecta revenue; and several other offices which are mentioned in the service grants of the municipality records.[44]

The Finances of the Municipality

The income of the municipality was derived chiefly from the shops and lands it gave in lease, from the fines collected for violations of market regulations, and from the licenses issued to artisans, shopkeepers and other professionals to operate within the city limits. According to a report of the municipality dated 1606 the rough annual income of the municipality did not exceed 8,000 xerafins[45], out of which nearly 3,000 xerafins were spent on salaries and allowances of the city officials, 2,000 xerafins on a hospital for the incurables and crippled run by the municipality, and the remaining sum of 3,000 xerafins on works of public utility and on the statutory feasts of Corpus Christi and St. Catherine.[46]

The only other report of detailed accounts of the municipality indicates that the market fines of the municipality amounted to 4,000 xerafins in 1644. A paddy field was leased to a certain Bikarya Gauda for an annual rent of 300 xerafins. These two types of revenue were applied to the payment of the salaries and perquisites of the various municipality servants and to finance the works of public utility. The income of the leased field was reserved primarily for the payment of stipend to four mukadams entrusted with the cleanliness of the four wards of the city.

The other forms of income and expenditure of the municipality as indicated in the same report of 1644 were: 1,100 xerafins from the lease of some shops and the market square, and 216 xerafins from the lease of some godowns for storing timber and of some tents in which ready-made garments were sold. This income was spent on the

hospital for the incurables, to pay the salaries of the municipality watchman and clerk of the market judge, and to give monthl alms of 10 xerafins to the friars of St. Francis.[47]

The city was entrusted with the administration of 1% additional customs revenue since 1569. Half of this revenue was spent on building and maintenance of the city defences and the other half for building galleys.[48] In 1617 a new additional duty on the export of precious stones was introduced. It was known as 2% consulado tax. The revenue was spent on building ships and maintaining crews engaged in fighting the Dutch.[49] Beside these two types of revenue administered by the municipality a third type of revenue was collected also with the help of the municipality since 1623. This was the so-called collecta tax on the import of foodstuffs to the city of Goa. Only the foodstuffs brought from the neighbouring regions of Bardez and Salcete and grown there were exempt from the payment of this tax.[50] The administration of all the above extraordinary levies was taken up by the municipality with the understanding that it would be able to exploit the necessary evils to its best advantage. To this we shall return while discussing the municipality policies.[51]

The regular city revenues were administered by the city council with the help of a city treasurer, who had to submit his accounts to the city accountant at the close of every year. He was also required to present surety to the municipal council on taking office. By a special privilege granted to the Goa municipality its accounts were not subject to public auditing.[52] There are occasions when the municipality expressed its displeasure in

strong terms against the interference of the State authorities into the municipality accounts keeping.[53]

In spite of a well marked tendency of the Goa municipality to grab at every possible opportunity of making some money and to administer it in its own sweet way, it also has a good record of generous assistance at various moments of crisis to the State Government. In 1587 the municipality gave a loan of 10,000 xerafins to the viceroy Don Buarte de Menezes for the expeditionary force which sacked Johore.[54] This loan, just like most of the later loans, was never repaid. In 1603 the municipality collected 7223 xerafins to provide foodstuffs to the fleet sent under the command of Andre Furtado to defend Achin against Dutch attack[55]; eight years later the municipality gave the viceroy Dom Ruy Lourenco de Tavora a sum of 10,000 xerafins to equip a galleon for the Malacca fleet[56]; in 1622 a much bigger amount of 40,000 xerafins was offered to the governor Fernao de Albuquerque for the defence of Hurmuz[57]; in 1650's the municipality contributed with great difficulty 10,000 xerafins on the occasion of the desperate defence of the Portuguese in Ceylon and Kanara.[58] The fall of these Portuguese possessions brought to the city of Goa some hundreds of Portuguese families rendered homeless and without any means of livelihood.[59] The burden of assisting these refugees in a context of rapid decline of city revenues made it impossible for the municipality to come forward with any further contributions when the very city of Goa was beginning to be threatened with invasion by the Marathas. When the Government was in need of raising about 300,000 xerafins to meet the expenses of defence against the Maratha Sambhaji, the sum

was collected by imposing various sorts of taxes on the Christian and non-Christian population of Goa and by appropriating the silver ornaments of the Convents and Churches,[60] but there is no reference to separate contribution of the Goa municipality. The waning fortunes of the citizens are described pathetically in a letter addressed by the municipality to the Crown in December 1693. The letter requests the King to drop the scheme of transferring the capital to Marmagoa, because the citizens had begun demolishing their houses and selling their timber and furniture to find means of obtaining their regular meals for some time longer.[61] The state of the municipality finances at the end of the seventeenth century is also reflected in a letter of the Crown to the viceroy Count of Villa Verde whereby the latter is informed that the Goa municipality could be excused from investing in the newly established Company of Commerce because of its financial bankruptcy. It is known, however, that even the General Assembly of the village communities of Bardez could invest 12,000 xerafins in the said Company.[62]

We could close this treatment of the finances of the municipality with reference to the salaries and other forms of remuneration to the municipality officials and servants. It was not left to the municipality officials to decide about their own salaries, and in 1695 a royal instruction ordered the municipal council to cut down all the increments it had introduced in the course of years without any special royal sanction.[63] It is in this connexion that we come across a table of salaries and

allowances paid to the municipality officials and other subordinate officials during the seventeenth century.[64]

Office Designation on municipality pay-roll.	Remuneration in xerafins, tangas and reis per year.
City captain, aldermen, and other officials (12 in all) ...	1536 - 0 - 00
Two judges of the orphans	96 - 0 - 00/each
Secretary of the council	765 - 0 - 00
Watchman of the house	411 - 0 - 00
City treasurer	250 - 0 - 00
Syndic	150 - 0 - 00
Watchman of the market square and his four peons	203 - 3 - 00
Clerk of the market square	36 - 0 - 00
Time-keeper	72 - 0 - 00
Alms to the Friars	120 - 0 - 00
Chaplain of St. Catherine's chapel	100 - 0 - 00
City chaplain	78 - 0 - 00
Chaplain of the hospital for the incurables	25 - 0 - 00
Senior clerk of the records office of the municipality	146 - 0 - 00
Two clerks attending the city tax-collector	60 - 0 - 00/each
Sollicitor	48 - 0 - 00
Seven nayaks	336 - 0 - 00

Municipal Evolution in the Seventeenth Century

It is clear from the above that in the course of the sixteenth century the municipality of Goa had grown to its full stature with its functions and privileges well defined, though not always fully respected. Even though the Crown had rejected its suggestion for establishing in Goa a kind of parliament attended by the representatives of the various municipalities in the Portuguese eastern dominions,[65] its supremacy was acknowledged and it was referred to as the "head of all other cities".[66] During the seventeenth century we witness a continuous fight on the part of the municipality to preserve its over-sized image against the economic, social and governmental challenges that went counter to its interests and tended to blur its image, if not to wipe it out altogether. This conflict is best understood in the context of the medieval town policies in Europe and the mercantilist opposition that ensued. This subject has found a master exponent in Eli Heckscher (1879-1952), whose analysis of mercantilism expatiates upon the five-fold policies of the medieval European towns, namely: 1. The policy of provision, which attended to the interest of the consumers and sought to keep the town always well stocked, particularly with perishable foodgrain, in order to prevent disasters which could result from wars, blockades or bad harvests; 2. The policy of protection, which attended to the interests of the urban manufacturers and sought to suppress manufactures in the suburban regions and to prevent imports of manufactures in order to create markets for the home goods; 3. The policy of control of the city trade, commerce and as many

other activities as possible by placing its burghers as middle men; 4. The stapling policy, which forced as much traffic as possible into the city, favouring thereby the policies of provision and protection; and 5. The ethical code, which ruled out competition, or at least circunscribed it by means of guilds.[67] This last feature of the medieval town policies will be discussed in the next chapter, which is devoted to the study of urban economic life with special reference to labour and market organization in the city of Goa in the seventeenth century. But the various features of the medieval European town policies can be seen already in all that has been said about the privileges and mode of functioning of the Goa municipality in the earlier part of this chapter. What follows is an unveiling of the municipal policies of the Goa municipality by analysing its response to the cases of challenges it had to meet in the course of the seventeenth century.

The married settlers of the Goa city had yielded to the imposition of various customs levies under condition that the administration of the same levies would be entrusted to them. The concession that they had extracted opened to them new avenues of employment and new channels of profiteering. Heckscher has referred to complaints registered against the electoral council of Barndernburg in 1582 regarding their profiteering in corn trade.[68] The same could be said of the city elders at Goa. The viceroy Count of Linhares wrote to the King in 1631 that the municipality officials had been hoarding grain in order to make profits by exploiting the scarcity caused by drought and famine all over India.[69] The records of the Goa High Court for the year 1636 also reveal that four

captains appointed by the municipality to the collecta-financed flotilla were caught smuggling part of the load of foodgrain imported from Kanara to relieve the famine threat to the city.[70] It was precisely the privilege of appointing men of its choice as captains and crew of the collecta-financed flotilla that made the administration of the collecta revenue so coveted an activity to the municipality officials. Even after the threat of the Dutch to the Portuguese shipping was non existent, the municipality of Goa was not eager to abolish the collecta tax, because they thought it useful to retain to help the State with its depleted exchequer to fight the new threats of the neighbouring Indian rulers. But they betrayed their real intentions when the Government decided in 1694 to take over the administration of that revenue. The municipality officials started a campaign of vilification against the Government in its correspondence with the Crown, and it did not stop crying against the inneficiency of the Government until the administration of that revenue was entrusted to them once again.[71]

There were also social problems that assumed alarming proportions during the seventeenth century and began threatening the Portuguese colonial society at Goa. Political misfortunes and the trade decline had added to the gravity of the situation resulting from the moral degradation that was the legacy of the previous century which had seen the city at its height of prosperity. The city elders did their best to remedy the situation by estabilishing an asylum for the orphan girls and another for sheltering the women gone astray. Both these institutions of

charity were entrusted to the Holy House of Mercy (Santa Caza de Misericordia), which was almost a department of the municipal administration for public assistance.[72] The House of Mercy helped the orphan girls to find husbands by offering them cash dowries and jobs to the men who were disposed to marry them.[73] This latter form of helping reflected the typical attitude of the mercantile period when charity in the form of doling out alms was being replaced by recruiting as many hands as possible for productive activity.[74] Even the administration of justice was made into a means of producing economic gains. The municipality fines were almost always to be paid in cash.[75] Beggars and vagabonds who infested the city were scrutinized for the genuineness of their needs and all the able-bodied were dispatched to the galleys, in case of men, and to the Powder House, in case of females.[76]

The irreligious bent of mind of the Portuguese settlers of Goa also strikes as compatible with the general behaviour that we have categorized as mercantilist.[77] A monastery was established with the financial assistance of the municipality during the opening decade of the seventeenth century "to enable the daughters of the poor and respectable Portuguese settlers, who were left without means to offer decent dowries to their many daughters, to praise God through lives consecrated to virginity and evangelical perfection".[78] This was the monastery of Santa Monica about which the municipality was complaining bitterly a few decades later when the spectre of poverty and fear of racial extinction was beginning to haunt the Portuguese married settlers

more and more. They complained that the purpose of founding the monastery had been defeated by restricting its shelter to females of noble birth and considerable wealth, thereby making it impossible also for the Portuguese settlers to find suitable partners![79]

This dismal situation made the Portuguese settlers forget for a while their racial prejudices and request the Crown to issue a decree ordering the wealthy and high caste native Christians to offer their daughters in marriage to the Portuguese settlers.[80] When this request was treated coldly by the State authorities, the Portuguese settlers succeeded in realizing that the idea behind the local native custom prohibiting the re-marriage of widows was to absorb the wealth of those widows. They then got round the State authorities in 1684 to issue a decree ordering that native Christian widows may not be prevented from marrying Portuguese settlers![81]

There were finally the State authorities which constituted a serious obstacle to many pretentions of the city administrators and a source of continuous vexations to them. The chief cause of much bad blood between them was a frank correspondence which the municipality maintained with the Crown. The Crown had been encouraging this practice in order to keep in check the vast powers granted to the viceroys in India. The municipality councillors were required to write dutifully and without fail every year reporting the state of affairs in India and their own activities and difficulties.[82] The viceroys heartily resented these reports and mis-reports. This is evident from the fact that in 1603 the municipality wrote to the Crown that the letters sent to them by

the Crown were being intercepted by the viceroys in order to find out from the replies the nature of the complaints they might have sent to the Crown against the local State Government.[83] The most repeated complaints were against the interference of the viceroys in the municipality elections and against the violation of the privilege of the city councillors regarding immunity against arbitrary arrest, judicial torture and imprisonment in chains.[84]

Just as the municipality officials rarely had good things to write about the Government officials, the correspondence of the viceroys is also replete with indignant expressions against the municipality officials. Thus, for instance, the viceroy Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo wrote to the Crown in 1613 that the municipality officials were generally elected through bribery and from among men of least competence. He accused them of having petty minds and of being a source of constant headaches to the State administrators.[85] The Count of Linhares was writing to the Crown in 1630 that the municipality correspondence with the Crown was a mixture of calumnies and things irrelevant to the welfare of the city. He requested the Crown to terminate such an evil practice by ordering that the municipality secretary be sacked from his office if he continued to indulge in such kind of letter-writing.[86] He wrote again the following year exposing the abuses and corrupt practices of the Goa municipality and other municipal councils in Portuguese India. His diatribe ends with a suggestion to suppress the municipalities as the only remedy to save India from total collapse.[87] There are more instances of such angry outbursts on the part of the viceroys against the municipal councillors of the Goa city.[88]

The replies of the Crown to the viceroys and governors always counselled moderation. The viceroy Count of Linhares, who had suggested abolition of municipalities, was instructed to curb their abuses and corruption, but not to suppress them.[89] As regards the complaints of the municipality officials and their demands, they were directed to the viceroy "who represented the Crown on the spot and would not fail to do justice to them".[90]

Beside correspondence, also attorneys were sent by the Goa municipality to the royal court to represent their interests. This practice was also encouraged by the Crown, but the viceroys were averse to this type of representation as well, and more than once the municipality was refused permission to send such envoys to the royal court at Lisbon and Madrid.[91]

To conclude, it may be said that the founder of the Goa municipality proved right in his forecast when he wrote to the King in November 1514: "These Indians will know that we are come to stay, because they see our men planting trees, building houses of stone and lime, and breeding sons and daughters."[92] As Prof. C.R. Boxer has very judiciously remarked, "the very noble and always loyal Senate of the Goa city was one of the principal forces which held the ramshackle State of India together. It certainly was not a mere rubber stamp in the hands of the viceroys and governors, and it provided a strong element of continuity in a government whose head normally changed every three years."[93]

NOTES

1. Barros, Decada II, P.2: 559-62; Silva Rego, A., Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente: India, I, 174-85; Gabinete Litterario, II, 94-97, 97-98.
2. Barros, op.cit., 563.
3. Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, ed. A.Baiao, 133.
4. APO-CR, II, 3-10.
5. Boxer, PSE, 281.
6. APO-CR, II, 11-13.
7. Ibid., 4-5. St. Catherine was selected as the patron-saint of the Goa city and its municipality, because the city was conquered by Albuquerque on November 25, the feast day of St. Catherine of Alexandria.
8. Ibid., 5-8, 46-47.
9. Ibid., 9.
10. Heckscher, E. F., Mercantilism, I, 332. The period extending roughly between A.D. 1500 and 1700 has been recognized as a critical one in the economic history of the western world. It is customary to deal with these years as the mercantilist period, and probably the only comprehensive theory or framework which treats these years as a distinct state of being with its own policies and objectives is that of Eli Heckscher. To him mercantilism appeared as a system of unification, power, protectionism, monetary organization, and a conception of society including views on religion and ethics.
11. APO-CR, I, P.1: 14-15.
12. APO-CR, II, 139-44.
13. Ibid., 162-70.
14. Ibid., 170-71.
15. Ibid., 171-72, 214, 250-54.

16. APO-CR, I, P.2: 109.

17. HAG: MS 7746 (Senado: Registo de Cartas Regias), fl. 13.

18. HAG: MS 7865 (Senado: Cartas dos Governadores e Reis de Portugal, 1676-1708), fls. 86-86v.

19. APO-CR, II, 22; Boxer, op.cit., 276.

20. HAG: MS 7746, fl. 39; MS 7865, fls. 31, 95-95v; APO-CR, I, P.1: 123, P.2:46; APO-CR, II, 246, 249-50; AR, I, 388.

21. HAG: MS 7765 (Assentos da Camara, 1597-1603), fls. 145v-146v; App. II f (Companion Volume).

22. APO-CR, II, 115-16; Boxer, PST, 154.

23. HAG: Moncoes 13B, fls. 336-37; APO-CR, I, P.1: 130-31.

24. APO-CR, I, P.2: 30. The noblemen refused to serve in the city hospital under the supervision of fidalgos.

25. HAG: MS 7695 (Registos Gerais do Senado, 1570-92), fls. 147v-48; App. II a: ll. 15-20, 28-31 (Companion Volume).

26. AR, I, 195-96; APO-CR, III, P.2: 935; App. II a: ll. 34-41 (Companion Volume).

27. APO-CR, I, P.2: 99.

28. HAG: MS 7765 (Assentos da Camara, 1597-1603), fls. 176-79v.

29. AHU: India, Caixa 21, doc. 19 (20.xii.1650).

30. HAG: Moncoes 22B, fls. 254-55 (13.i.1653).

31. APO-CR, II, 260-61.

32. Ibid., 261-62.

33. HAG: Moncoes 54, fls. 89-89v; APO-CR, II, 123-25.

34. APO-CR, II, 74-75.

35. APO-CR, I, P.1: 57; P.2: 89, 102-103; II, 144-45, 229.

36. AHU: India, Caixa 8, doc. 121 (20.ii.1621), Caixa 28, doc. 210 (3.x.1671); HAG: MS 7745, fl. 18 (30.i.1683).

37. APO-CR, II, 283.

38. Ibid., 78-79.

39. APO-CR, I, P.1: 23, 153, 212.

40. Heckscher, op.cit., I, 130.

41. APO-CR, II, 206: Is a list of salaries of the municipality officials in 1572.

42. APO-CR, II, 274-75.

43. Cf. infra nn. 48-50.

44. HAG: MSS 7750-57 (Registos das Cartas Patentes, 1596-1688). These service grants are useful to have an idea of the various types of services controlled by the municipality, but they rarely give details about the salaries and perquisites or about the service conditions.

45. APO-CR, I, P.1: 176.

46. The feast of the Body of Christ was celebrated on a Thursday, exactly three months after the feast of Easter. It was one of the two statutory feasts celebrated by the municipality with special pomp. The aldermen and other officials who did not have a salary were given fat allowances on the occasion of these feasts to make good dresses for themselves. Cf. APO-CR, II, 206; Boxer, PSE, 279.

47. AHU: India, Caixa 18, doc. 79.

48. APO-CR, I, P.1: 81; II, 188-91, 210, 213, 242.

49. AHU: India, Caixa 4, doc. 208 (22.xii.1617); APO-CR, II, 235-37.

50. HAG: MS 7748 (Acordaos da Camara, 1621-25), fls. 152-53v; MS 7809 (Livro de Collecta, 1623-26), fls. 10-13. The duties imposed affected the goods brought from Portugal also. Thus, coral, glassware, quicksilver, ivory, wire, etc., had to pay 5 per cent. The duty on these goods was paid by the sellers, but the duty on eatables and drinks brought from Portugal was payable by the buyers at the rate of 10 xerafins/ wine barrel, 4 xerafins/vinegar cask, 4 tangas/ oil pot, 1 tanga/oil bottle; and the duty on local items was as follows: 1 xerafim/ khandi

of husked rice and wheat, lentils, mungo (phaseolus mungo), urid (phaseolus radiatus), and beans; half xerafim/khandi of unhusked rice, nachini (eleusine coracona), bajri (panicum spicatum), pakal (paspalum scrobiculatum), varyo (panicum miliaceum), kulit (dolichos biflorus), til (sesamum indicum), and zanvo (panicum miliare). Tax was also imposed on animal slaughtering: 1 tanga/pig, 2 vintens/sheep, and 2 tangas/cattle head. Duties on some other items were: 6 xerafins/ khandi of ghee, 4 xerafins/khandi of oil, and 1 tanga/ kumba of exported salt.

51. AHU: India, Caixa 9, doc. 166 (19.xii.1626), Caixa 24, doc. 123 (19.xii.1658), Caixa 26, doc. 167 (3.iii.1665).

52. APO-CR, I, P.2: 175-76.

53. HAG: MS 7747(Assentos da Camara, 1603-1608), fls. 213-18; APO-CR, I, P.2: 86-87, 177.

54. APO-CR, I, P.2: 45. In 1596 the municipality was still reminding the State Government about the repayment of its loan.

55. HAG: MS 7747, fls. 7-7v; APO-CR, I, P.2: 146, 169.

56. HAG: MS 7766 (Assentos da Camara, 1609-15), fls. 74-74v.

57. HAG: MS 7748 (Assentos da Camara, 1621-25), fl. 64.

58. AHU: India, Caixa 22, doc. 13 (4.iii.1653); Pissurlencar, ACE, III (1644-58), 241.

59. AHU: India, Caixa 26, doc. 44 (26.i.1664): "... so many are the married Portuguese who have arrived here from the Portuguese settlements fallen into the hands of the enemy that it is pitiable to see them moving in bands from door to door begging in order to find some means of supporting their wives and children. Besides, there are many others living with their friends and relations...." (Translation of an extract of the letter written by the municipality to the Crown). Cf. Balsemao, Os Portugueses no Oriente, II, 78: refers to c. 2600 women and children from among the Portuguese settlers of Cochin brought to Goa by the Dutch vessels after capturing that place.

60. Pissurlencar, ACE, IV (1659-95), 419-20, 428-32.

61. HAG: MS 7865 (Cartas dos Governadores e Reis de Portugal, 1676-1708), fl. 93v (1.xii.1693).

62. HAG: Moncoes 58, fls. 167 (10.iii. 1693).

63. HAG: MS 7740 (Acordaos do Senado, 1694-1709), fls. 57-58; AR, I, 207-208.

64. HAG: MS 774o, fls. 57v-58.

65. APO-CR, I, P.1: 67.

66. Ibid.,79, 84-85.

67. Heckscher, op.cit.,I, 128-30.

68. Ibid.,I, 60.

69. HAG: MS 1498 (Ordens Regias, n.2), fls. 8v-9v (6.vii.1631).

70. AR, I, 470-71.

71. AHU: India, Caixa 31, doc. 41 (27.ii.680); Caixa 37, doc. 12 (9.iii.1693), 24 (26.ix.1693), 88 (6.xii.1694); HAG: MS 7865, fls. 96v-97, 111, 113v, 117v-18.

72. Ferreira Martins, Historia da Misericordia de Goa, I, 70-378; II, 201-86: narrates the history of the two shelter-houses with the help of the original papers of those institutions preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa.

73. APO-CR, I, P.1: 81, 101, 109; III, P.1: 78, 90, 161-62, 203, 207, 282, 501; III, P.2: 715, 720; V, P.3: 999-1000; VI, 1301-02.

74. Heckscher, op.cit., I, 167; II, 286.

75. HAG: MS 7846 (Alvaras e Provisoes de S. Magestade e dos Vice-reis, 1593-1781), fls. 7-7v

76. HAG: MS 512 (Cartas Patentes e Alvaras, n.44), fl. 32.

77. Heckscher, op.cit., II, 302.

78. HAG: MS 7747, fls. 141-44; APO-CR, I, P.1: 108, 113, 125, 130; P.2: 17, 56, 150, 190, 208.

79. HAG: MS 7786 (Senado: Diversos, 1610-1704), fls. 44v; MS 7745 (Registos das Cartas Regias, 1630-1712), fls. 11v.

80. HAG: MS 7745, fl.6v.

81. AR, II, 661-64; Cunha Rivara, Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani, 255-59.

82. APO-CR, I, P.1: 100.

83. Ibid., 103-104; P.2: 116, 224. In 1608 the municipality was requesting the Crown to send a code which they could safely use in the correspondence.

84. Ibid., P.2: 25-26, 32, 51, 63, 81, 99-100, 117.

85. HAG: Moncoes 12, fls. 66v-67 (23.xii.1613); Couto, Soldado Pratico, 118.

86. HAG: Moncoes 13B, fls. 336-37 (1.i.1630).

87. Cf. supra n.69.

88. HAG: Moncoes 20, fl. 47v (4.xii.1634); AHU: India, Caixa 27, doc. 28 (28.i.1666); Caixa 28, doc. 210 (3.x.1671); Caixa 31, doc. 142 (1.x.1681).

89. AR, I, 441 (24.ii.1633)

90. APO-CR, I, P.1: 65; Couto, op.cit., 109.

91. APO-CR, I, P.2: 129, 135, 141; Viriato de Albuquerque, O Senado de Goa, 48-53.

92. APO-BP, Bk. IV, Vol.I, P.1: 842.

93. Boxer, PST, 40.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

URBAN ECONOMIC LIFE

The Portuguese economy at Goa had been geared to provide wherewithal for defending the Portuguese eastern empire and trade and to supply for the personal tastes and the domestic needs of the administrative bureaucracy, as well as ecclesiastical labourers and parasites.[1] Without any significant local production for exchange the economic prosperity was maintained as long as the power of the Portuguese gunships remained unrivalled controller of the Asiatic trade.[2] In the seventeenth century we find this economic base crumbling and the city of Goa beginning to face the grim situation of feeding a population of consumers, whose services were paying less and less for the habits it had developed in more prosperous times. The prevailing mode of production based on slave labour and the consequent low level of technology reduced the living standard to subsistence and made the downfall of the city a logical inevitability.[3] The economic base was further undermined by the well entrenched Catholic Church, which tried to seek field of action in the context of diminishing success in the missionary field by preaching about the human dignity of the slaves close at home and demanding their freedom.[4] With its trade disrupted and with its slave population on a spree of rowdism, the city of Goa in the seventeenth century was becoming more and more a shadow of its past glory.

If the decline of the city was gradual and the breakdown was never complete, this was due to the resilience of the organizational stability it had achieved. The nature of the labour organization, which could check the wage inflation, and the nature of the controls over money and commodities, which could check profit inflation, helped the city to minimise the pressure of the waning economy.

I. Labour Organization

The expression "labour organization" is not limited here to its current popular meaning of organized labour in the context of industrial capitalism. It may be surprising, however, to note that this meaning was not altogether unnaplicable to the economic situation of the Goa city in the seventeenth century. An incident which took place on October 8, 1694 certainly points to the existence of somewhat organized industrial proletariat in the State owned and managed industrial concerns. The chief revenue superintendent (vedor geral da fazenda) sent a communication to the viceroy on the above date reporting that a crowd of 500 poor artisans employed in the State shipyard was shouting outside his residence door that they had not received their wages for seven consecutive weeks.[5]

In the gunpowder manufactory where much skilled work was not required the great majority of the workers were slaves and those concdemn to forced labour. Neither of these types of labourers could express their protest in any other form than sabotage. Outbreaks of fire and explosions in the gunpowder house were not

unusual.[6] It was because of such incidents that the general manager of that establishment proposed to the Public Revenue Council in 1689 that only negro couples should be employed in there. He was convinced that the Hindus and others condemned to forced labour were responsible for all mischief.[7]

Going beyond the consideration of labour organization of the types just described, the present analysis proposes to delve into the structural pattern of the labour market in general. It is true that the State was one single giant customer in the labour market, but there were also many private enterprises consisting of workshops-cum-shops owned by petty independent artisans and craftsmen, who catered for the necesseties and for the display tendencies of the city population.

Pattern of Demand and Supply

Beginning with the public sector we have the Government owning a large service industry for looking after the administration, defence and the spiritual welfare of the Portuguese State of India. Matricola geral was the department which maintained the service books of all the employees on the State pay-roll. The exact number of the Portuguese serving in India, particularly in the armed forces, was kept a jealously guarded secret for reasons of security.[8] Unfortunately we do not have the records of the Registration Office, but even if these records had been available, they were likely to be misleading, because there was a permanent complaint to the Crown from the more scrupulous offcials in Portuguese India that the registers contained more names of the dead

or absentees than those actually in service.[9]

In the administrative set-up the higher cadre came with appointments from Portugal, but most of the subbordinate posts were filled by the Portuguese married settlers, and some by the native Christians. While the strength of the Portuguese soldiers available for service at Goa at any one time during the seventeenth century never exceeded 1,500, the administrative services could not have absorbed more than half that number.[10]

The State demand for labour was chiefly for fleet-manning and for combat, particularly in the seventeenth century when there was a chronic shortage of Portuguese manpower. This shortage was remedied by drafting the Portuguese married settlers and the native people, neither of which two groups took the measures with a good cheer. Their reluctance is revealed by the fact that high-handed methods were adopted: Skilled sailors were detained for months prior to a planned expedition[11], village communities were pressurized to supply definite number of men[12], Portuguese settlers were deprived of their slaves[13], and the work in the galleys and gunpowder manufactory was introduced as a form of judicial punishment for the law-breakers and vagrants.[14] It was only when all these methods failed to yield satisfactory results and when the threats of the Marathas close at home forced the Government to review the labour situation that the administration realized that wage-raising was the best attraction for labour.[15]

As regards the State-owned defence industries their employment potentiality can be gauged from the nature and volume of their pro-

duction. The shipyard was a vast complex including carpentery section, rope manufactory, smithery, foundry and cooperage. Giant carracks of nearly 2,000 tons burthen, as well as a variety of smaller crafts were built and equipped there.[16] There was a gun foundry with three large kilns and all the required apparatus for casting guns as well as for minting currency.[17] Pyrard de Laval, who has left the fairest description of the whole complex, was impressed by the large number of workers employed there. He remarks that with the exception of the general superintendent and the heads of the various departments most of the skilled and unskilled labourers were recruited from among the natives of the locality.[18]

The gunpowder manufactory supplied gunpowder to all the Portuguese settlements in the East and was even sending annually about 500 quintals as a ballast of the Carreira ships.[19] In 1630 it had six grinders and could manufacture 500 lbs. of gunpowder each day. The viceroy Count of Linhares raised the production capacity to 700 lbs. in 1634.[20] A decade later the house had acquired a new grinder and the production capacity had been further increased to 800 lbs. a day.[21]

Before passing on to the demand for labour in the private sector something may still be said about the employment procedure in the public sector. To what has been said about the pressure methods of drafting, it may be added that those who arrived as soldiers from Portugal were generally criminals and convicts who were emptied from the gaols of Portugal.[22]

Once they arrived in India there was nothing like an organized army to offer them necessary protection. When the summer season approached and the coastguard fleets had to begin their patrolling duties, individual fidalgos or noblemen appointed as fleet captains would recruit the men they needed and submit the lists to the Government Registration Office.[23] For the rest of the year they were left high and dry on the shore to eke out their living, which they generally did by begging at the Convent doors, or by joining the retinue of some Portuguese bravo, or by seeking some complaisant woman (married or unmarried) who would keep them, or by seeking out and imposing themselves on any of their relatives found anywhere in the East, or by crossing the borders and taking up job with some native ruler, or by joining the ranks of the Religious Orders.[24] Those employed in the fort garrisons were somwhat luckier because they could more easily make a living during the rainy season as well by preying upon the neighbouring villages.[25]

Only the married settlers and the wounded soldiers were free to seek non-military occupation. However, all the posts in the administrative service and the high positions in the military service were granted by way of reward. Anyone who applied for such a post or for cash pension had to present certificates of his having served for a minimum period of eight years in the fleets.[26] Only the jobs connected with the city administration were granted independently by the city councillors, and certain low grade posts

of clerks, interpreters and legal sollicitors were granted to the native Christians at the recommendation of the Father of Christians.[27] Another exception was in favour of those who were willing to marry the orphan girls sent from Portugal or the orphan daughters of the noblemen who died while serving in India. The posts offered by the State as dowry to the orphan girls were all below the grade of factor and did not require confirmation of the appointment by the home Government. Also the service requirements for the males who married the orphan girls were reduced by four years.[28]

The offices were generally granted for three-year terms. But there were some jobs, such as those of public notaries, bailiffs and chief constables, which the viceroys could grant directly in India for the period when the granting viceroy continued in office.[29] However, almost all the higher category of jobs were sanctioned (*despachados*) from Portugal after the lists of candidates and their service files (*consultas*) were submitted through the Secretariat in India. One single office was often granted to more than one person, and a grantee had thus to wait until all those who preceded him had enjoyed the grant. The time lag could sometimes be of one generation or more, but it was permitted to the grantees to renounce the office granted in favour of someone else, or even to sell it.[30] However, morethan once the State itself took the initiative of auctioning various administrative posts and captaincies to the highest bidders.[31] It was meant to raise funds for the war expenses, but such interference must have made the situation of the

grantees still more hopeless. One factor which probably minimised the frustration was the eagerness of the wealthy Eurasian parents to seek white partners for their nubile daughters.[32]

Concerning the demand for labour by the city municipality much has been said already in the last chapter, but there were projects of public works, such as building and repairing of roads, drainage canals, wharfs, and such like, which surely required skill and unskilled artisan and menial labour. Just like the recruitment of labour for the State defence industries, in this case also the recruitment of labour must have been left to the artisan-cum-contractor who undertook to do the job.[33]

In the private sector there was first and foremost the institutional demand of the Religious houses. The craze of the various Religious Orders to outdo each other with "monumental display" surely implied mass employment of artisans connected with building and decorating work. The employment potentialities were further raised by the reconstruction works that had to be undertaken due to frequent fire accidents caused by the abundant use of combustible building material and the lack of fire fighting equipment.[34]

The needs of the individual citizens were many and highly diversified. They could, however, be classified under housing, food, dress, personal care and transport. As regards housing there were sumptuous mansions of the Portuguese settlers in the city and also magnificent villas in the suburbs. However, although the houses of natives were largely made of stone and lime,

there were residences of the natives in the close suburbs which Jesuit reports have referred to as pigsties.[35] From the point of view of labour demand it is important for us to know that most of the building material was obtained locally: The laterite stones were quarried in the surrounding villages, the lime was manufactured out of some oyster shells in the kilns working in some other neighbouring villages, where also the roof-tiles were manufactured. The illumination of the houses was effected with torches and lamps working on coconut oil, though it was common to use wax-candles for the Church services.[36]

The food needs were largely satisfied with imported rice and wheat. Green vegetables, coconuts and coconut oil, and fish were also important ingredients of the diet and were obtained from local suppliers. Several city dwellers had their own kitchen gardens and their own palm groves where they set their slaves to work and to grow enoguh for themselves and surplus for the market.[37] Beef was consumed regularly by the inmates of the monasteries and also by the Christian city dwellers, and the cattle for slaughter was imported from the mainland.[38] Use of pork, mutton and chicken was not uncommon, and the fowls were particularly in demand for feeding the convalescent.[39] Fresh drinking water was supplied by slaves who brought it in earthen vessels from the Bangany spring and sold it at the road junctions of the city.[40] As regards the eating utensils, the Portuguese had the Chinese crokery imported from Macao, while clay pottery manufactured in Bardez served the needs of the Christian natives and the non-Christian served thier

dishes in containers made of tree leaves.[41]

The dress habits varied between the simple and most exquisite styles. At home even the rich covered themselves with bare minimum. In case of women even this bare minimum is described by several European travellers as so transparent that it hardly covered anything.[42] The children at home normally moved about fully naked until they were big enough to be ashamed.[43] It was while moving outdoors that the wealthy made an ostentatious display of damask, silk, velvet garments and of jewelry. Even the lackeys who accompanied them as palanquin or parasol bearers were dressed up in gay and fanciful liveries. Those who were not so well off tried to emulate the rich, and even the bachelors who lived together in rented houses kept at least one good suit which they all shared in turn for moving outdoors.[44] The dress of the natives was also limited to covering the essentials while at home, but outdoors men wore silk cabayas and fine turbans of silk or velvet caps. The women, both Portuguese and native did not show themselves in public, except on rare religious and social occasions. There were however the female slaves who went round the city selling different kinds of wares. They were generally good looking and well attired.[45] Finally, the male slaves and poor natives did not have more than loin-cloth to cover themselves, and a Jesuit report likens them to "our father Adam".[46]

The personal care of the city dwellers required the services of barbers, who were also the bleeder-surgeons of those days,

the washermen, the cobblers, the tailors, and so on. There were the pandit or quack doctors, who were very much appreciated by the Portuguese. The municipality had thirty of them permanently on its pay roll[46], and even the Religious houses and the high civil authorities had them as their house doctors.[47] Licenses were issued to them by the municipality for a fee of ten xerafins and with a clause that they should not induce their Christian patients to make votive offerings to Hindu temples and deities.[48] The Portuguese who did not avail themselves of the services of these pandit and treated their illnesses with enemas, purgatives and bleedings were succumbing much more easily than those treated with native methods.[49]

Much of the close personal attendance was the job of hordes of male and female slaves. The number of slaves indicated the wealth and social position of their owners. The male slaves were not unusually employed by their masters as instruments of their revenge, and occasionally their brute force was used to intimidate friends and strangers to give loans which would be repaid only "on the doomsday".[50] At the close of the seventeenth century an average Portuguese household owned at least six slaves, but there were those with better means who had even thirty or forty of them.[51]

As regards the means of transport for distant places the river navigation was the cheapest means. On the land the goods were carried on heads. However, heavy and bulky cargoes were placed on parallel bars which rested on the shoulders of four bearers. Stones, timber, and building material was generally

transported with bullock-carts. In this connection Pyrard had observed that the wheels of the carts were not metal-rimmed.[52] In spite of several legislative efforts to ban the use of palanquins for the conveyance of persons, this means of transport continued in vogue all throughout the seventeenth century and even later.[53] The vehicle consisted of a chair or net hanging from a bambu and having an overhead covering made of woven palm leaves. The bambu cane was placed on the shoulders of two men in front and two behind. Horse-riding was rare and no amount of legislation improved the situation.[54] Most of the city people walked, but they tried as far as possible to have parasols to protect them against the sun. The parasols were made of woven palm leaves and had an impermeable cover for the rainy season.[55] These parasols were carried by persons belonging to a special class of bova or mahar class, who also carried the palanquins.

In addition to the essential needs discussed so far there were the created needs. Palm arrack distilled from palm toddy was popular among the Portuguese and the Christian natives and it was sold all over the city. Tobacco was consumed mostly by the non-Christians and they used it for smoking, sniffing and chewing. Apparently, it was no less popular among the Christians and even among the Religious. In the year 1638 Fr. Vitelleschi, the Superior General of the Jesuits, had instructed his Visitor to India to check three types of abuses prevailing among the Indian Jesuits, and one of these was the way in which they

spent freely on tobacco.[56] Opium was supplied as part of food rations to those employed in the galleys and in the gunpowder manufactory.[57] Gambling was also an irresistible attraction for many of the Portuguese, and there were well furnished houses in the city for this purpose.[58] Finally, the city of Goa was no exception as far as the evil of prostitution was concerned. Female slaves were very much in demand for sexual gratification, but the Portuguese had developed preferential taste for the Hindu nautch girls. The Portuguese visited them in the neighbouring islands of Akado and Kumbarjua, because these nautch girls were not permitted to enter the city limits.[59]

Guilds of Artisans and Craftsmen

The pattern of demand and supply in the labour market of the Goa city during the seventeenth century enables us to form some idea of the bargaining power of the labour. The picture is further perfected by analysing the organization of the guilds of artisans and craftsmen in the city.

Craft guilds and merchant guilds were not uknown to India even in ancient times. Kautilya's Arthasastra devotes one full adhikarana to the description of sreni, and by the time of the composition of the Buddhist scriptures guilds certainly existed in almost every important Indian town, and they embraced almost every trade and industry, including the thieves.[60] Considering the fact that Goa had been an important trading centre at least

from the times of the Kadamba Jayakesi I, it is a sufficient indication that the merchant and craft guilds which flourished in the medieval Karnatak and Vijayanagar could not have been alien to Goa.[61]

The earliest references to the craft guilds in Goa after the Portuguese occupation are found in the Jesuit missionary reports. A report of 1545 refers to an excellent native painter who was the mukadam of all the other painters.[62] Another report of 1559 says that "among the Muslim as well as the Hindus of this land there is in every kind of craft a title called mukadam, which corresponds to that of superintendent in our language; all those who practise that particular craft acknowledge in a certain way his superiority".[63] We also learn from another report that in 1560 a mukadam of the silk merchants was baptized along with his three companions and that the entire street of the silk merchants was festively decorated for that occasion.[64]

The Portuguese at Goa introduced the pattern of guild organization that was prevailing in the Portuguese capital. Hence, it is necessary to trace briefly the history of the evolution of the guild-system in Lisbon. It was only by the end of the sixteenth century that the urban economy of Portugal gained in complexity. By that time guilds had reached high development in most of the other parts of Europe. In Portugal the discoveries had a decisive influence on the process of their growth by causing influx of artisans from rural areas and from abroad into the capital. This development forced the existing rudimentary guilds

to meet the challenge and to have a written code of behaviour. The oldest surviving written regulations are those of the guild of leather-workers. Whatever regulations most of the guilds followed were either customary or enacted by the State or municipality authorities. In 1545 King John III instructed the Lisbon municipality to look into the regulations governing various artisans, to modify them if necessary, and to give new ones to those who did not have any. That is when werfind the municipality coming into picture for the first time as a recognized authority to regulate and control the guild affairs. It was in keeping with this instruction that the municipality approved the regulations for different crafts during the years 1549-64 and these were all compiled in one book entitled Livro dos Regimentos dos Oficiaes Mecanicos (Book of Regulations Governing the Artisans) in 1572. It was only thence onwards that the craft guilds of Lisbon received a juridical discipline to which we can now turn our attention.[65]

Each craft guild elected two inspectors (juizes) to serve during a period of one year. It was their duty to make inspection tours of all the workshops of their craft and to check the quality of wares and their prices. They also regulated the distribution of raw materials among the craft guild members. The inspectors were assisted by an elected clerk who accompanied them during the tours and noted down their instructions. The inspectors could impose fines which were executed by the municipality appointed market inspectors (almotacels).

Each craft guild was also organized into a confraternity having its patron saint, whose image or representation on a standard was carried by the guild members during the statutory Corpus Christi procession. This was the internal organization of the guilds controlled by two elected presidents or mordomos, who summoned the meetings of the confraternity, administered the common fund, and attended to the social welfare of the member families.

Then there were the examinors (examinadores) elected to judge the competence of an artisan who wished to open his own workshop and become an independent craft master. The job of the examinors was sometimes done by the guild inspectors or by the confraternity presidents. A candidate for master's qualification had to have undergone the prescribed period of apprenticeship (aprendizagem) and to have worked as wage-worker (obreiro) during a minimum required period. The candidate then had to produce satisfactorily his "master work" as directed by the examinors. Only then he received a passing certificate which could enable him to have his own workshop (tenda), apprentices and wage-workers.

A disctinction was made between the grouping of artisans into bandeiras (standards) and oficios (crafts). While a craft was a purely professional classification, a banner designated one or more crafts having a common banner of a patron saint. This latter arrangement had religious connotation and it was also used as a base for representation of craft interests on the municipal

board.[66]

We may conclude the study of the evolution of craft guilds of Lisbon with a reference to the political power wielded by the guilds. They had attained a definite position in the national politics in the year 1384. It was a year of national crisis, and the artisans of Lisbon played a decisive role in the proclamation of the Master of Avis as King John I of Portugal against the pretentions of Castille and in the midst of the hesitations of the nobility of Lisbon. It was then that the new King rewarded his plebeian supporters and proclaimed that twenty-four representatives of the wokers, two of each craft would take part in the city administration. It is not known if there were only twelve professional groups in Lisbon at the time, or if only the twelve important groups were meant to represent the interests of all the others. But whatever was the situation, the workers were to sit in the company of the city gentlemen (homens bons) to administer the town affairs.[67] This intrusion was not taken well by the former elite, whose resistance must have grown in the course of years. This is suggested by several royal orders which were issued at different times in the fifteenth century confirming the privileges granted by John I to the workers: They were to continue in the municipal council and have their say in all its decisions.[68] The only development in the course of years was the restriction of the number of the workers who directly participated in the proceddings of the municipal council to four. The former body of twenty-four continued in existence, but as an

electoral body to send the four representatives (*mesteres*). This situation remained crystalized until 1755 when the great earthquake shook the foundations of Lisbon city and also of its guild organization. The earthquake destroyed the archives of the guilds, and the reconstruction work brought into the city waves of labourers from the rural areas and from abroad. These developments forced the guilds to reshape their organization to stand the shock.[69]

That the Portuguese transplanted the above described guild administration into Goa is seen from the published and archival documentation of the Goa municipality. Whatever has been said in the previous chapter about the workers' representatives and their place in the municipal organization is by itself sufficient to draw a parallel. However, more evidence can be adduced not only to confirm the parallelism, but to illustrate the peculiarities of the guilds at Goa.

The earliest extant original records of the Goa municipality date back to 1535-7, and they are regulations (*posturas*) for the bakers and the suppliers of some important food items and services. We get an impression that the urban economy was still very much underdeveloped.[70] However, new market regulations drawn up in 1618 are very extensive and begin by saying that the earlier regulations had become obsolete and inadequate to meet a situation which had changed entirely.[71] These new regulations really reveal a much higher degree of complexity, and the artisans and craftsmen covered by them include masons,

stone-cutters, tile-bakers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewel-cutters and polishers, wax-workers, coopers, tailors, dyers, washermen, parasol-makers, coppersmiths, shoe-makers and lime manufacturers. The registration books of the examination certificates issued to artisans and their confirmation by the municipality also point towards a high degree of specialization of crafts. We come across certificates issued to canvas-makers, tanners, rope-weavers, harness-fixers, sword-sharpeners, and many others. The proceedings of the municipality council also contain lists of the workers' representatives elected year after year. Along with their names we are also informed occasionally about the professions to which they belonged. Thus, we come across new types of artisans, such as hatters, book-binders and cuttlers.[72]

The regulations of 1618 determine among other things that no artisan may have a shop or even exercise his craft in any other way within the city or its suburbs without obtaining license from the municipality. A fine of ten xerafins was fixed against the defaulters.[73] It was also determined that every artisan should present surety before the municipality clerk[74], the goldsmiths and silversmiths should have a registered mark recorded in the books of the municipality and which they were bound to affix on any type of ornament worked by them.[75] The masons and carpenters had to present a guarantee equivalent to one-third of the value of the work undertaken.[76]

The same regulations of 1618 stated that no artisan could be

examined for two different crafts, and no slave could be examined at all, but a slave could work as a wage-worker for his master.[77] No artisan could refuse to attend immediately to the needs of any citizen of the category of squire (*escudeiro*) and above under penalty of 2,000 *reis*.[78] The goldsmiths and silversmiths were forbidden to work anywhere outside the places assigned to them in the city under penalty of 50 *xerafins*.[79] The washermen were warned not to lend the clothes of their clients to a third party under pain of paying a fine of 5 *xerafins*. They were also required to wash the clothes twice a week during summer and once a week during winter, and not to use rough stone to beat the clothes on.[80] A non-Christian tailor owning a workshop was forbidden to have a Christian partner, or even to have Christian apprentices and wage-workers.[81] A shee-maker was warned never to turn a client away for want of leather or with any other excuse.[82]

In order to control the quality and prices of the wares the inspectors of every craft had to make their rounds and destroy the articles which did not come up to the expected standard. Fines were also established for those who did not sell the goods for stipulated rates: 500 *reis* if caught once, 1,000 *reis* and suspension from office if caught a second time, and 2,000 *reis* plus loss of job if caught a third time.[83]

The fact that the majority of the artisans in Goa were non-Christians does not appear to have prevented the Portuguese from introducing the organization that was prevailing in Portugal, including the system of banners with patron saints. Thus, the barbers

belonged to the banner of St. George and the masons to that of St. Joseph.

On the basis of available evidence regarding the working of the guild of barbers we could imagine also the relationship between the members of the other professional guilds and their mukadams. A mukadam was elected by the guild members, but the election and the terms of their allegiance to him had to receive official sanction of the municipality. Apparently, the offices of guild mukadams, like those of the guild inspectors and their clerks, and the guild representatives to the municiapl board continued to be restricted to the Portuguese. There is no reference to a non-Christian exercising any of these offices during the period of our study. According to the information available about the guild of the barbers, they agreed to abide by the orders of their mukadam in all matters of their profession and to accept his sentence in composing differences among them. The mukadam was to be assisted by four elected arbiters, and anyone who disobeyed the mukadam was liable to a fine of 10 cruzados each time for the confraternity of St. George.[84]

To conclude the study of the guild organization in Goa we could still mention the House of Twenty-Four similar to that of Lisbon. It was a purely electoral body representing different guilds, and its elected president known as Judge of the People (juiz do povo) acted as a link between the guilds and the State and municipality authorities. It was he who presented before the municipal board the four representatives sent to it by the House.[85]

Mode and Quantum of Payment

Details regarding the mode and quantum of payment to the Government servants during the seventeenth century continued to be regulated substantially by a standing order or regimento drawn by Diogo Velho, the chief revenue superintendent, in 1576.[86] A general revision of wages and salaries was effected in 1626 to meet a severe rise in the cost of living.[87] Thereafter in the course of the seventeenth century no other general revision took place, but increments were granted to individual cases depending upon the urgency of the situation. Thus, for instance, the governor Fernao de Albuquerque raised the quarterly pay of the constables to 25 xerafins and of the gunners to 16 xerafins, and their maintenance allowance was raised to 13 tangas per month in order to provide incentive and remedy the shortage of artillery men.[88] Similarly in 1681 the State Council decided to check the defections of the crew of oar-vessels and high-sea vessels by raising the monthly allowance from 3 to 6 xerafins. After this reported increment it was actually noticed that men who had gone over to the English settlement of Bombay were coming back into Portuguese service.[89]

The pay procedure was controlled by three separate departments, namely General Registration Office (matricola geral), House of Accounts (Caza dos Contos) and Factory (Feitoria). Everyone on State pay-roll had to have his name, designation,

employment order and nature of salary registered in the muster roll of the General Registration Office. Even facial marks for the purpose of identification were noted down in these registers. The House of Accounts did the auditing of accounts of the various departments and all the high-ranking officials had to submit to it their quarterly, yearly and three -yearly accounts. When any of these officers ended his term, a judicial inquiry was conducted to certify that he carried out his duties in keeping with his office regulations, and the House of Accounts had to issue a clearence certificate stating that he owed no dues to the State. If an officer was found to have effected any payments not sanctioned by the Government , he was required to make good the damage to the public exchequer at his own expense. The Factor was the official who directly or indirectly controlled all the payments and was directly responsible before the House of Accounts. Every Portuguese settlement in the State of India had an administrative system based on division of powers. While the Captain was the military head and had an overall supervisory authority, there was a Judge to attend to the administration of justice and a Factor to keep the accounts and to pay the State employees.

In the city of Goa and its immediate suburbs the payments were effected by the Factor every three months (quartel) after checking the General Register and after being satisfied with the actual service records kept by an appontador to whom every payee had to present every month the service certificate issued

by his departmental head. In the neighbouring provinces of Bardez and Salcete the muster-roll was kept by the clerk assisting the province Collector (Recebedor) and the payments were effected by the Collector.[90] The higher authority to whom an appeal could be directed regarding the payment of salaries, or for that matter regarding any financial problems, was the Chief Revenue Superintendent (Vedor Geral da Fazenda), whose authority ranked practically next to that of the viceroy or governor.[91]

As regards the form of payment the Portuguese followed a somewhat complicated system: The basic pay of the military and administrative rank and file was known as soldo, which varied with the social rank of the beneficiary. The equivalent of soldo when it was paid to a non-Portuguese employee bore the designation of musara. All those who received soldo or musara were also entitled to a maintenance allowance called mantimento in case of Portuguese beneficiaries, and batta in case of the natives. Mantimento and batta were calculated monthly, but while the mantimento was paid either in cash or kind, batta was always paid in kind.[92]

The high-ranking officials, who had their offices by appointment, received their salary calculated yearly and known as ordenado. These officials were not entitled to mantimento. However, most of these officials derived other benefits: Those who did not have Government quarters were paid aposentadoria or house-rent, the least of which amounted to about a seventh of the amount paid as

salary and the highest reached even one third of the salary.[93] The crew of the Carreira ships and some high-ranking administrative officials, such as the viceroy, the vedor, the officials of the House of Accounts, enjoyed the privilege of sending to Portugal on their account certain partly or fully duty-free "liberty chests" and a fixed number of slaves.[94]

In keeping with the system of Crown Patronage (padroado real) also Church servants received their pay from the Government. The pay was ordenado or congrua when paid to the individual parish priests, but in the case of Religious Houses there werelump sums assigned to them as ordinarias, which were calculated on the basis of their expenses for the celebration of Church worship and the maintenance of the inmates.[95]

In addition to these forms of payment the wage-workers, say at the royal dockyard, were paid ferias or daily wages, which around 1607 amounted to 12,000 xerafins per year.[96] The workers were counted twice a day by the keeper of the muster-roll and whatever time they were found absent during the working hours was taken into account for the purpose of deducting it from their pay. The payment was made in public if it was a small sum and in private if the amount was big.[97] In case of the natives employed by the State or by private individuals to take care of horses, it was regulated by the Government that they should never be paid their monthly salary of three golden pardaus in advance, because they were used to squandering the amount with their vices, and those who were not from the locality would often disappear without

giving any notice. It was therefore determined that those who hailed from outside Goa should not be paid more than the budgrooks they needed for their daily maintenance and one pardau at the end of the month. But those who had their families in Goa were allowed to be paid one pardau for every ten days in advance.[98]

It was also a rule followed in making the payments that the earner should receive it directly in person. This rule does not appear to have been strictly enforced because Diogo do Couto, who was a witness to the administrative abuses, describes at length the prevailing practice of selling the soldos or negotiating with them in several other ways.[99] There were however instances of payment being made officially to the families of those who worked far away of their homes. Thus, for instance, the families of Ganoba Rane and his 400 men from Bardez, who had gone to fight for the Portuguese in Ceylon in 1639, received an allowance paid from the revenues of the Bardez customs.[100] So also it was determined by the Public Revenue Department in 1668 that the wives of the pangelis or non-Christian native sailors, who served in the high-sea fleets, should be paid an allowance of one vintem per day during the absence of their husbands.[101] These instances give us a glimpse into the humanitarian aspect of the Portuguese pay-system.

The pay-system did not entirely lack a somewhat feudalistic approach in the sense that at least until the early part of the seventeenth century the Religious Orders engaged in the missionary

work in the provinces of Bardez and Salcete continued to administer the lands that were taken away from the Hindu temples and donated to the Church. It was not without a stiff legal fight that the Jesuits relinquished the lands which they possessed in Salcete in 1646.[102] But the Religious in the rural areas as well as in the city wielded strong control over the population and constituted a veritable empire within an empire. This was particularly true of the Jesuits, who were known to organize popular resistance to State impositions which affected their interests.[103] The Religious had a real feudal type of hold upon the villages in which they exercised their spiritual ministries, and much more so in the villages which were given to them as grants.[104] They would often take village community lands on cheap leases and then sublet the lands for very profitable rentals.[105] In the suburban villages as well as in the city the Religious were the major clients of the fish-sellers, but as Captain Hamilton has expressed it crudely " the Church was not feeding on fish miraculously, for the poor fishers dare not sell till the Priesthood is first served."[106]

Another form of payment which continued in vogue during the seventeenth century was that of granting monopoly rights to conduct trade "voyages". Thus, for instance, when the Jesuits represented to the Crown in 1644 that their comrades in China had not received their pension for nearly thirty years and that these arrears amounted to about 60,000 xerafins, it was decided by the Overseas Council in Lisbon that they could be paid one-fourth in

that is, 15,000 xerafins in cash, and in lieu of the rest they could have a voyage to Mosambique.[107]

Finally, the State payments also took the form of moradias or house-allowances to all the fidalgos serving in India. In 1682 there were 108 fidalgos receiving a total amount of 221,191 reis by way of moradias. It was decided by the Overseas Council that owing to difficulties of the exchequer the soldo and moradia should not be paid to the fidalgos at one time.[108] Of the category of moradia, but larger sums were paid by way of pensions (tenças and comedias) to widows of good many fidalgos and to State guests.[109]

The salaries and allowances paid to all who were on State pay-roll at Goa were drawn from the revenues of Goa itself. Each category of employees had its salaries and allowances consignated in definite heads of revenue. Thus, the employees of the royal hospital and of the House of Accounts were paid from the import duties on betre and foodstuffs (mantimento e betre), the officials of justice were paid from the Chancery income (renda da Chancelaria), the ministers of the Holy Inquisition were paid from the income derived from spice imports (renda de especiaria), the Archbishop and his Chapter were paid from the quit-rents of Bardez (foros de Bardez), the income of every toll-booth supported the garrison defending it, and so on. There were comparatively few officials who had no definite types of revenue to provide for their pay. In this group were surprisingly included the viceroy, the vedor, the factor, the State treasurer, and some other impor-

ant officials, which suggests that those who controlled the moneys knew the advantages of being out of the regular system. Perhaps the fluctuating values of the various rendas in which the salaries were consignated had their repercussions which the ministers at the helm of administration did not want to affect their interests.[110]

The fact that nearly three-fourths of the total income of the territory went to feed the white bureaucracy, with the second large fund absorption being done by the Church and the defence organization, there were only crumbs for the natives and their development. That was how the Portuguese colonialism was draining the land.

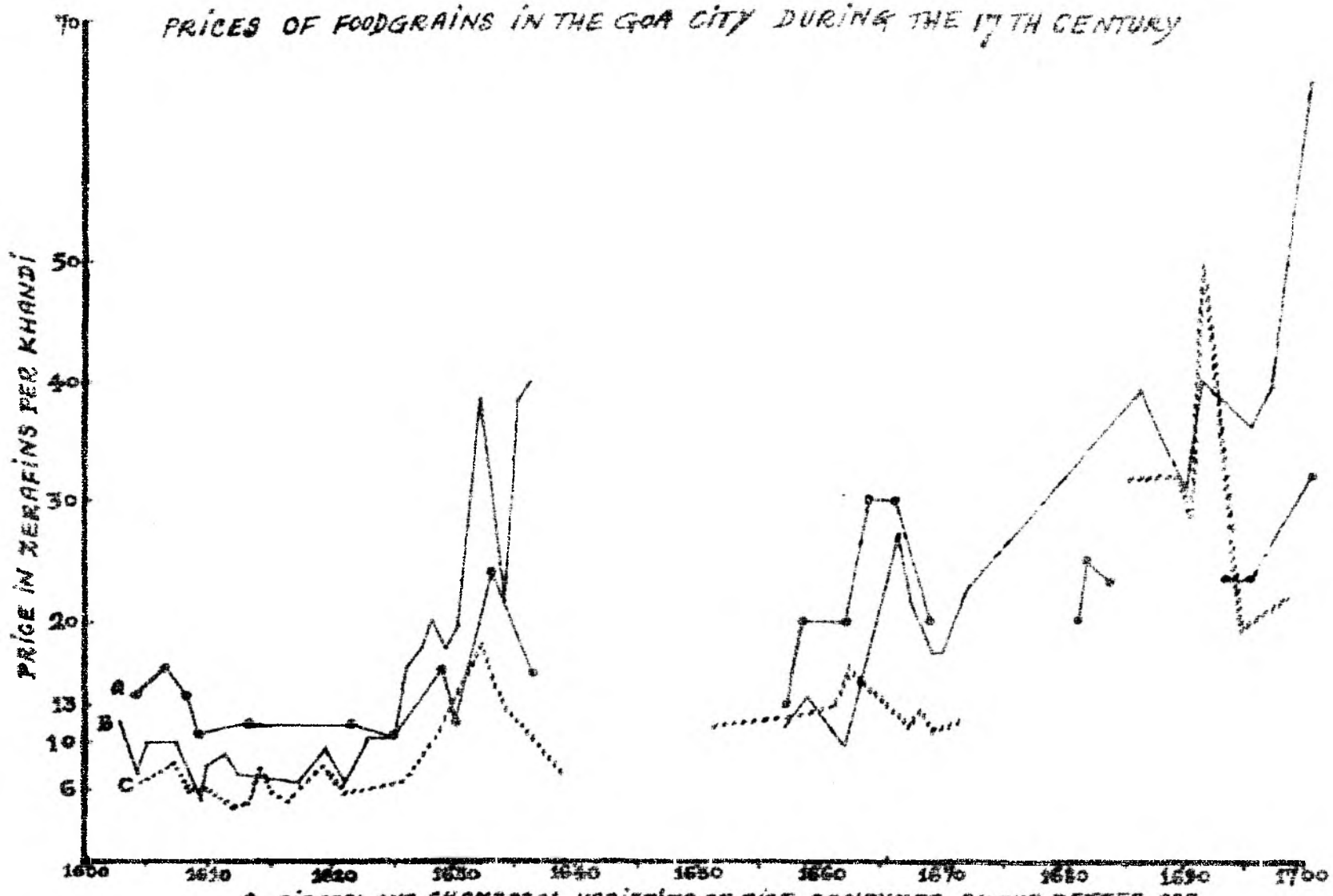
The mode of payment to the labour employed by private individuals depended upon mutual agreement between the employer and employee. The guilds of the workers surely played an important role in determining the mode and quantum of payment, but there are instances when the city and State authorities also interfered. The control of the city authorities is discussed at length in the next few pages. Here follow a couple of instances which illustrate State regulation on the matter: A viceregal decree had ordered in the closing years of the sixteenth century that no employee would be allowed to seek redress of any dues in courts of law without having a contract signed with his employer determining all the terms of service and remuneration.[111] Another contemporary order prohibited the native Christian artisans to continue the practice of celebrating weddings for fifteen days. The decree

restricted such celebrations to a single day in order to put an end to the abuse of the artisans who took works on contract basis and after taking advance-money left the works pending.[112]

As regards the quantum of payment it is possible to have a clearer picture of the salaries and wages paid to the Government employees. The highest pay receiver was the viceroy and that amounted to 24,000 xerafins a year at the beginning of the seventeenth century and rose up to 24,465 xerafins at the end of the same century. The next highest salary was drawn by the Archbishop who was paid 12,000 xerafins throughout the seventeenth century. The Chief Revenue Superintendent and the Chief Secretary ranked third and each received nearly 2,500 xerafins. The Chief Inquisitor and the Judges of the High Court were the next highest recipients with about 1500 xerafins each. Almost all the other salaries were below 500 xerafins and the least paid menial workers received between 15 and 24 xerafins. Apparently no revisions of salary had brought about much significant increase.[113]

As regards the remuneration of the private employment the available information is quite scarce. In term of quarterly payments in the course of the seventeenth century a barber received five xerafins, a cobbler four xerafins, a washerman seven xerafins, a cook three xerafins, a pandit fifteen xerafins, a palnaquin or parasol bearer six xerafins. It is also interesting to know that a washerman was paid one xerafim per wash, a baker received two xerafins to make bread of one khandi of wheat flour given to him, and a rope-weaver worked on eight maunds of coir

PRICES OF FOODGRAINS IN THE GOA CITY DURING THE 17TH CENTURY



A. JIRASAL AND CHAMBARSAL VARIETIES OF RICE CONSUMED BY THE BETTER OFF.
B. WHEAT CONSUMED MOSTLY BY THE WHITES.
C. BLACK RICE CONSUMED BY LOW INCOME PEOPLE.

N.B. The gaps indicate lack of recorded data.

for a xerafim and three tangas. There is still another type of payment indication: The building charges of a mason were four xerafins per brassa (= 3 x 10 x 10 spans), a painter was paid one xerafim and 15 reis for whitewashing two rooms, a carpenter contractor received seventy-one and half xerafins for doing the ceiling of a chapel, a blacksmith was paid seven xerafins for casting an iron grill, and some basket-weavers were paid one xerafim and half for weaving some mats. These are the limited data contained in the books of the household accounts of the seventeenth century monasteries of Goa city.[114]

It may be recalled that most of the hard menial labour was supplied by the slaves. Female slaves earned money by selling goods of their masters and by engaging themselves in prostitution. Although these slaves managed to hide a part of their earnings, they had to place all their earnings before their masters at the end of a day or a week. The French traveller Mocquet who was in the city during 1607-10 met there a Siamese slave who was selling goods in the market, and for that work he received a measure of rice a day and occasionally two budgrooks for buying curry for his rice.[115]

II. Market Organization

The splendour of the city of Goa and its glories as the queen of the Oriental marts find exhaustive description in the travelogues of Linschoten and Pyrard who lived there long enough to observe the details of its market organization and functioning. Linschoten

writes that "in Goa there is holden a daily assemblie or meeting together, as well of the Citizens and Inhabitants, as of all Nations throughout India, and of the Countries bordering on the same, which is like the meeting upon the Burse of Antwerpe, yet differeth much from that, for that hither in Goa there come as well Gentlemen, as Merchants and others, and there are all kindes of Indian commodities to sell, so that in a manner it is like a Faire".[116] Pyrard is more detailed in his description of the city market, particularly with its slave commodities for sale. With his French eyes for female beauty Pyrard had found that many of the young slave girls brought from different parts of India were very attractive, and he describes in a lascivious style the possibility of buying some virgin slave girls after confirming their virginity with the help of ladies available for the purpose. He sums up his impression of the city market by saying that it was an emporium and a port of disembarkment for the whole of India.[117]

There are some other finer details in the above travelogues that catch our attention and call for a more elaborate description of the market organization in the Goa city. The occurrence of references to specified areas for shops and workshops, the presence of merchants from different nationalities, the existence of city brokers, the practice of issuing monopoly rights for dealing in different kinds of commodities and revenues, including the collection of market fines, the fixation of prices of essential commodities, the licensing of money-exchangers to help in speeding market transactions, the existence of a baratilha or post-sunset

market for selling stolen goods, all these point to a market organization that was very complex.

It is clear from the preceding survey of the various groups of the city population and their relative role in the city economy that neither of the two economically dominant groups had administrative control over the market. This control was in the hands of the Portuguese married settlers who very largely a big multitude of consumers, while Portuguese Jews and native Hindus controlled most of the economy as traders, merchants, tax-farmers and artisans. In such circumstances the city administrators exercised their privileged position to protect the interests of the large consumer segment of the city population, protecting the other groups only to the extent that it was unavoidable and necessary for keeping the consumers supplied with the necessities as required by the town policy of provisionism.

In its bid to control the market the municipality authorities clashed time and again with the mercantilist State policies, and sometimes also with the personal interests of the viceroys in India. Thus, for instance, the municipality was never fully allowed to meddle with the mechanism of the seaborne trade. More than once the request of the municipality to the Crown to let it have its brokers to control the Goa-based trade had been set aside.[118] The State authorities had also refused to consider seriously the repeated complaints of the municipality against the all-absorbing business skill and capacity of

the Jewish businessmen.[119] Clashes with the personal interests of the viceroys took place generally on the issue of the small denomination currency which affected the market prices. Too often in course of sixteenth and seventeenth century the viceroys and governors tried to make profits by using their own metal to issue debased currency, and since the city market had to import most of the essential commodities, price inflation was a necessary sequel to absorb the monetary debasement. The crisis was normally enhanced by the black-marketeers who waited for the opportunity to put into flow more and more fake currency, which was made easier by the rudimentary character of the minting technique. Apparently, all complaints of the municipality authorities and all the royal orders issued to meet the problem do not appear to have provided a satisfactory solution until the end of the period under consideration.[120]

The municipality had developed a three-pronged market control mechanism, namely import control, production control and distribution control. This was achieved through municipality posturas incorporated into viceregal decrees and confirmed by royal orders. The municipality had its own full-fledged body of officials to implement them.

The import control was exercised with regards to essential food commodities and raw materials for the domestic production. All food items imported from anywhere had to be disembarked and taken to the enclosure of the Customs House (Terreiro de Mandovi) within six, or at the most fifteen days, after the arrival of

the grain or other material bringing vessels into the city port. Every precaution was taken to prevent forestalling, engrossing or regrating in these essential commodities. Thus, for instance, in December 1633 the city judge, Goncalo Borges Veloso, was sent to Kanara settlements to conduct inquiry into the abuses that were taking place at that end regarding the import of rice into Goa. As a result of the judicial inquiry six Portuguese, one native Christian and two non-Christian Brahmins were arrested and brought in chains to Goa for being found guilty of re-selling the grain for much higher prices.[121] Care was also taken about convoying the grain bringing vessels right into the Goa port and no private vessels was allowed to approach them at any stage of the way in order to prevent diversion of goods.[122] These preventive operations very carried out by a special set-up created after the introduction of Collecta duty on food imports in 1623.[123]

The control over the import of raw materials utilized by the city artisans was also essential. It was benefiting directly the town artisans, but it enabled the consumers to have a regular supply of goods at moderate prices. The immediate benefit is evident from the fact that the cobblers and tanners themselves had taken initiative and come to an agreement with the men of the slaughter-house: The former would provide the latter with advance money that would be sufficient for them to buy cattle for one full year, and the latter in turn were obliged to sell the hide to the former at a mutually agreed rate.[124] In order

to prevent indiscriminate imports that might lead to competition among the guild members the municipality also had regulations enacted to the effect that no raw materials could be imported and sold without first contacting the judge and inspector of the guild concerned.[125]

Production control was aimed at protecting the consumer against adulteration of goods and fraud. The inspectors of every guild were instructed to tour the areas within their professional jurisdiction and to check the quality of wares and destroy those which are found to be sub-standard. To make this checking easier and to prevent competition among the guild members it was required that all artisans of the same craft or all merchants trading in similar goods should live along the roads assigned to them by the municipality. During the seventeenth century there was apparently a strong tendency on the part of certain artisan elements to evade the prevailing control by choosing to have their workshops outside the areas assigned to their profession.[126] As to the standard quality of wares it was either established in the posturas or in the clauses of the licenses issued to the artisans. Thus, for instance, we come across details regarding the measurements which various roof-tiles had to have.[127] Incidentally, these tile manufacturers were not working in the city but in the suburban villages and in the neighbouring province of Bardez. Hence, the production control extended even outside the city premises.

Finally, the distribution control was carried out through

price-fixation, and through checks on weights and measures, at least in case of essential commodities. Thus, for instance, as soon as foodgrains and oils were disembarked and taken to the enclosure of the Customs House, any importer who did not have thirty khandis or more to show had the price fixed by the judge of the market (juiz do terreiro), whose clerk issued the price-tags with date of issue on them to be placed on the containers of grain or other materials for sale. These price-tags were valid for two months in case of grain and for one month only in case of ghee, butter and oil.[128] Attention was also paid in a special way to the supply of beef and fish. There was a house with weights and scales where one could have the commodities purchased re-weighed.[129] The beef prices were regulated taking into account the representations of the meat-cutters regarding the difficulties of obtaining cattle from the mainland.[130] As regards fish it was determined in the municipality posturas that there should not be more than one middleman between the fish-killers and the consumers. Anyone caught selling fish to another middleman was liable to a fine of ten xerafins the first time and twenty xerafins the second time. If caught a third time the culprit was to lose the job and be whipped for three hours with the fish stringed round the neck at a public square.[131] Apparently this postura enacted in 1618 had not solved the problems connected with the fish supply. There were licensed fish-vendors who were exploiting their monopoly rights by disposing the greater part and the best part of their fish straight from their residences

for the benefit of the Convents and their well-wishers. The remaining fish they would salt and dry without caring to send any fresh fish to the market. In order to put an end to this severe inconvenience cause to the general public the municipality determined in 1664 that there should not be any more licensed fish vendors.[132]

In order to exercise the multiple controls described above the municipality had three types of officials, namely _almotacels_, _jurados_ and _zeladores_. Two _almotacels_ or market inspectors were appointed by the municipal board every two months, and their duties were to inspect the foodstuffs brought into the town for sale; to see that they were sold at the market price where this was fixed; to ensure that the vendors used standard weights and measures; and to ensure that the artisans and journeymen did not charge more for their labour than they were authorized by the municipal and guild regulations.[133] The _almotacels_ were helped in the task of inspection by four sworn-accusers (_jurados_) who issued violation-chits to the culprits and collected surety from them if they feared that the culprits might run away. Once a week those charged by the sworn-acousers were brought by the latter to the market control room where the _almotacels_ judged the cases and fined the violators if necessary. The cash collected by way of fines was submitted to the city attorney. A sworn-accuser was given one-third of the fines as his remuneration. Over and above the sworn-acousers and the _almotacels_ there were two _zeladores_ or general superintendents elected once a year to check whether

the *almotacels* and the *jurados* were doing their duty conscienciously.[134]

Whenever the right of collecting the market fines was farmed out (*renda do verde*) , as it was done during most of the seventeenth century, the farmer could arrest the violators of market regulations and produce them before the *almotacels* in the market control room (cazinha). In case an *almotacel* was not available the tax-farmer could take the prisoner to the State prison known as *sala das bragas* where he could keep the arrested party for not more than twenty-four hours without producing him before the competent authorities.[135] In order to curb the tendency of the tax-farmers to accuse people without sufficient reason it was determined in the municipality *posturas* that no close relative of the tax-farmer could be allowed to act as his clerk or sworn-accuser. If the *almotacels* suspected the character of a sworn-accuser they could order the tax-farmer or his sworn-accuser to produce two other witnesses, which had to be either Portuguese or native Christians.[136]

NOTES

1. Falcao, Livro em que se contem toda a fazenda. 78 ff.; HAG: MS 3068 (Regimento de Ordenados); APO-BP, T. IV, Vol. II, P. 1: 224 ff.; HAG: Moncoes 46A, fls. 113-7; Monoes 54, fls. 24-39; Moncoes 55B, fls. 468-81v: It is clear from these lists of State expenditure at various times during the seventeenth century that almost all the income was spent on administrative bureaucracy, ecclesiastics, and on military expeditions.

2. Aragao, DGHM, III, 576-7: The only meagre exports of Goa were coconuts, areca and salt. No items which constituted the mainstay of the Portuguese Asiatic trade were obtained locally. Cf. AHU: India, Caixa 5, doc. 32 (14.ii.1619): contains a suggestion made by the royal attorney in India, Pedro Alvares Pereira, to the effect that the people of Goa should be encouraged to grow pepper to provide cargo at least for one ship of the Carrera every year. There is no evidence to prove that this suggestion was ever taken up.

3. Walbank, The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West: presents a theory of decline which resembles very much to the situation that obtained in Goa.

4. HAG; MS 860 (Cartas de alforria); Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, 251; Wicki, O Livro do Pai dos Cristaos, 318-9.

5. Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 477.

6. HAG: MS 7747 (Acordaos da Camara, 1603-8), fl. 148v; Pissurlencar, ACE, I, 129.

7. HAG: MS 1129 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda, n.3), fls. 138v-9.

8. Pyrard, Viagem, II, 93.

9. Couto, O Soldado Pratico, 96.

10. Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 158; III, 12, 185; IV, 53, 62, 121. In 1660's the number of the Portuguese soldiers at Goa was barely reaching 600.

11. HAG: MS 1369 (Fiancas, n.1), fls. 40v, 165, 166v, 175; MS 1371 (Fiancas,n.2), fls. 146v, 148, 149v, 154-4v; Pissurlencar, ACE, I, 129.

12. Appendix I h (Companion Volume), l. 90. Cf. Also Appendix I k (Companion Volume), ll. 44-66.

13. APO-CR, I, P.2: 74, 81-2.

14. Magalhaes Godinho, Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial, II, 584; Bulhao Pato, DRI, I, 200.

15. Pissurlencar, ACR, IV, 434.

16. Pyrard, op. cit.,158; Frazao de Vasconcelos, Subsidios para a historia da Carreira da India no tempo dos Filipes, passim.

17. AHU: India, Caixa 13, doc. 5 (8.i.1638): It is a detailed description of the royal shipyard by the State Engineer, Manoel Homem de Pina. Cf. Pyrard, op. cit.,35-7.

18. Pyrard, op. cit., 36.

19. HAG: Moncoes 14. fls. 165v-6.

20. HAG: MS. 1498 (Ordens Regias), fls. 33-33v.

21. AHU: India, Caixa 17, doc. 89 (29.xii.1644).

22. AHU: MS 33, fls. 43-43v; Caixa 11, doc. 53 (20.ii.1635).

23. Boxer, PSE, 299; Couto, op. cit., 94-5; APO-CR, V, 1330-1.

24. Boxer, op. cit., 299-300; Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 36; Pyrard, op. cit., 98-100.

25. HAG: MS 7746 (Senado: Cartas Regias), fl. 37v; Appendix I k (Companion Volume), ll. 91-100, 133-40.

26. AR, I, 30-1; Pyrard, op. cit., 93-4.

27. APO-CR, V, 911; VI, 1171; Wicki, O Livro do Pai dos Cristaos, 77-8.

28. AR, II, 569, 571, 639-46.

29. Ibid., 545; AHU: India, Caixa 23, doc. 25 (13.ii.1655).

30. APO-CR, VI, 998, 1121; AR, I, 24, 30-1; II, 609-10, 573, 582.

31. APO-CR, VI, 1059-60; AHU: India, Caixa 4, doc. 147 (20.ii. 1617); Pissurlencar, ACE, III, 251.

32. Pyrard, op. cit., 98-9.

33. HAG: MSS 7832, 7856, 7852: passim.

34. There were half a dozen of Religious Orders (Jesuits, Franciscoans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Theatines), each having more than one sumptuous edifice in the city. Cf. The Travels of Pietro della Valle, I, 155-6; Mandelslo's Travels, 62-71; Hamilton, A New Account of the East Indies, I, 143: "I have stood on alittle Hill near the City, and have counted about eighty Churches, Convents and Monasteries within View." Cf. Saldanha, Historia de Goa, II, 60, 64, 84, 132: are several references to fire accidents in the Religious houses.

35. Wicki, DI, VIII, 316. It is also interesting to note that in the small and dirty houses there lived 15 to 20 natives. It gives an idea of the household members in the native inhabited areas of the city.

36. Pyrard, op. cit., 47-8; Falcao, Livro, 82 ff., passim.

37. Pyrard, op. cit., 28; HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fl. 45.

38. HAG: MS 7757 (Senado: Registos das Cartas), fls. 37-8.

39. Wheeler, Early Travels in India, 168; Pyrard, op. cit., 13.

40. Wheeler, op. cit., 168-9; Pyrard, op. cit.,54-6.

41. Pyrard, II, 13, 57; Wheeler, op. cit., 187.

42. Wheeler, op. cit., 179; Pyrard, II, 86; Comentarios de Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, I, 202-4; Fryer, A New Account of East India and Persia, II, 26-8.

43. Wheeler, op. cit., 204; Fryer, op. cit., 27.

44. Pyrard, II, 100; Fryer, op. cit., 22; Boxer, op. cit., 300.

45. Wheeler, op. cit., 179; APO-CR, IV, 267; Mandelslo's Travels, 81; Pyrard, II, 52.

46. Wicki, DI, XI, 364-5.

47. Linschoten, I, 230; Viriato de Albuquerque, O Senado de Goa, 423-5; Wicki, O Livro do Pai dos Cristaos, 190-1; Pissurlencar, Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa, 52.

48. HAG: MS 7696 (Senado: Registos Gerais, 1609-23), fls. 47v-8, 119v; APF: Scrit. Orig. 231, fls. 231 ff.

49. Comentarios de Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, II, 487.

50. Wicki, DI, X, 401; Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, 162-3.

51. Sen (ed.), Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, 188.

52. Pyrard, II, 48.

53. AHU: India, Caixa 31, doc. 93 (13.i.1681); HAG: Moncoes 53, fls. 25v ff.

54. AR, II, 627-30, 651-2.

55. Pyrard, II, 50, 72.

56. Humbert, "Some Answers of the Generals of the Society of Jesus to the Province of Goa", AHSJ, July-December 1966: 336, 341.

57. Falcao, Livro, 86, 91; HAG: Moncoes 85, fl. 59v.

58. APO-CR, III, P.1: 466; Pyrard, II, 85; AHU: India, Caixa 5, doc. 150 (6.xi.1618).

59. Boxer, "Fidalgos Portugueses e Bailadeiras Indianas. Seculos XVII e XVIII", in Revista da Historia, n.56, Sao Paulo, 1961: 83-105; Fryer, op. cit.,19; Manucci, op. cit., III, 278-9; Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, 199.

60. Basham, The Wonder that was India, 219; Kosambi, The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline, 196.

61. Moraes, The Kadamba Kula, 283-6.

62. Wicki, DI, I, 86.

63. Wicki, DI, IV, 324.

64. Ibid., 686.

65. Langhans, As Corporacoes dos Oficios Mecanicos, I,xiii-xxi.

66. Ibid., xvii-xviii, xxi, xlvi-xlvii.

67. Ibid., lxiii.

68. Ibid., lxvii- lxviii.

69. Ibid., lxxiii- lxxiv.

70. HAG: MS. 7737 (Acordaos e Assentos da Camara de Goa).

71. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas, 1808-1832), fl. 2. It is a 19th century copy.

72. HAG: MSS 7750-7 (Cartas Patentes), 7696-7704 (Registos Gerais), 7738-40, 7747-8, 7765-6, 7786-7 (Acordaos e Assentos do Senado).

73. HAG: MS 7795, fl. 28v.

74. Ibid., fls. 49-50.

75. Ibid., fl. 20.

76. Ibid., fl. 16v.

77. Ibid., fls. 16v-17.

78. Loc. cit.

79. Ibid., fl. 22.

80. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fl. 57.

81. Ibid., 55-55v; APO-CR, V, 1525.

82. HAG: MS 7795, fl. 65.

83. Ibid., fl. 65v.

84. Appendix II m (Companion Volume).

85. Appendix II o (Companion Volume).

86. Pissurlencar (ed.), Regimentos das Fortalezas da India, 15 ff.; Aubin (ed.) "Le 'Orcamento do Estado da India' de Antonio de Abreu", in STUDIA, n.4, Lisboa, Julho 1959: 169-289.

87. HAG: MS 3068 (Regimento de Ordenados, 1626), fl. 22. Rather than raising the existing salaries, the purpose of the new Regimento was to cut down the general expenditure.

88. APO-CR, VI, 1235.

89. HAG: Monoces 46A, fl. 505.

90. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 140-1, 151-2; APO-CR, V, 1325 ff., 1181 ff., provide details regarding the functioning of the Registration Office and of the House of Accounts respectively.

91. HAG: Moncoes 53, fls. 49-52: a detailed description of the powers of a Chief Revenue Comptroller in the Portuguese State of India during the seventeenth century.

92. Boxer, PSE, 299; Wheeler, op. cit., 173.

93. HAG: MS 3068, fl. 72; Cf. supra n.1.

94. HAG: MS 2358 (Alvaras e Cartas Regias, 1610-45), fl. 299; Moncoes 22A, fls. 201-3; Cf. supra n.1.

95. Cf. supra n.1; Boxer, op. cit., 230-50.

96. Falcao, op. cit., 90.

97. Pyrard, II, 36.

98. APO-CR, III, P.2: 554-5.

99. Couto, O Soldado Pratico, 87 ff.

100. HAG: ACF, V, fls. 66-7.

101. HAG: ACF, XI, fl. 190v.

102. HAG: ACF, VI, fls. 201-2.

103. AHU: India, Caixa 21, doc. 119 (22.xii.1651); TdT: DRI.35, fl. 50; Appendix I d (Companion Volume).

104. Broteria collection: Box n. 7 contains photocopies of 17 folios of MS containing complaints of the inhabitants of the Assolna village against their Jesuit overlords.

105. Appendix I d (Companion Volume), ll. 111- 29.

106. Hamilton, A New Account of the East Indies, I, 142. Cf. Appendix I d (Companion Volume), l. 135.

107. AHU: India, Caixa 13, doc. 1(1.i.1638); Caixa 16, doc. 99 (14. iii.1644).

108. AHU: India, Caixa 31, doc. 179 (25.i.1682).

109. AHU: MS 219, fls. 14v, 15v, 26, 36, 38v-39v, 50.

110. Loc. cit.

111. APO-CR, III, p.1: 469-70.

112. Ibid., 659-60.

113. Cf. supra n. 1.

114. HAG: MSS 1202, 2088, 2740, 2765, 2785, 4397, 4395-6, 7876, 7878, 7880 (Papeis dos Conventos Extintos).

115. Magalhaes Godinho, Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial, II, 584.

116. Wheeler, op. cit., 169.

117. Pyrard, II, 51, 58.

118. APO-CR, I, P.2: 65-6; AHU: India, Caixa 16, doc. 168 (21.ix. 1644).

119. APO-CR, I, P.1: 102, 106, 112, 119, 121; P.2: 44, 57, 64-5, 204-5; AHU: India, Caixa 4, doc. 138 (6.i.1617); Caixa 6, doc. 32 (14.ii.1619); HAG: Moncoes 20, fl. 28.

120. Aragao, Descripcao Geral e Historica das Moedas, III, 515-6; 576-7.

121. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fl. 3v; MS. 7846 (Registo dos Alvaras e Provisoes), fls. 82v-4.

122. HAG: MS 7758 (Senado: Termos de Assentos e Juramentos), fl. 231.

123. HAG: MS 7738 (Acordaos da Camara, 1629-32), fls. 213v-5.

124. HAG: MS 7701 (Registos Gerais, 1648-57), fl. 58v.

125. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fl. 58v.

126. HAG: MS 7846 (Alvaras e Provisoes de Sua Magestade e dos Viereis), fls. 37-38v; MS 7745 (Registos das Cartas Regias, 1630-1710), fl.5v.

127. HAG: MS 7786 (Camara: Diversos, 1610-1704), 67-67v.

128. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fls. 3v-4.

129. APO-CR, II, 129; HAG: MS 7697 (Senado: Registos Gerais, 1629-31), fls. 111-111v.

130. HAG: MS 7695 (Senado: Registos Gerais, 1570-92), fl. 266; MS 7738 (Acordaos da Camara, 1629-32), fls. 342-3; MS 7739 (Acordaos da Camara, 1655-63), fl. 270; MS 7757 (Senado: Registos Gerais, 1680-88), fl. 38.

131. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fl. 81.

132. Appendix II k (Companion Volume).

133. Boxer, PST, 7.

134. HAG: MS 7701 (Senado: Registos Gerais, 1648-57), fls. 50-1v.

135. HAG: MS 7836 (Senado: Livro de Termos, 1650-88), fls. 224-5.

136. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fls. 31-2v.

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